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HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
FROM
THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS,
COMPREHENDING
THE LATTER AGES OF EUROPEAN GREECE,
AND
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;
WITH
*A Preliminary Survey of Alexander's Conquests, and an Estimate of his
Plans for their Consolidation and Improvement.*

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL. D.
F. R. S. and S. A. London, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Historiographer to
his Majesty for Scotland.

Εκ μὲν τοι γὰρ τῆς ἀπάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραβίσεως, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος
καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως ἀντὶς ἐφικοίτο· καὶ δυνήθειν, κατοπτισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρησιμὸν καὶ τὸ
τιμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS.

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HISTORY

OF

THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

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Western Greeks. Their Misfortunes through the Dissolution of the Pythagorean Band. They are defended by Alexander of Epirus. Their Revolutions to the Reign of Agathocles. His Enormities. Description of Carthage and its Possessions. Siege of Syracuse. Agathocles invades Africa. His Conquests there. League in Sicily, resembling that of the Achzans. Agathocles' Proceedings with Ophellas, the Usurper of Cyrenè. Bomilcar's Conspiracy. Agathocles, king of Africa. Greeks detached into the Inland Country. Disasters and Defections. Agathocles' final return to Sicily. His subsequent Proceedings and tragic Death. His Mercenaries called Mamertines. They usurp Messene. State of Sicily.

THE immediate successors of Alexander were distinguished in point of spirit and activity from the generation that came after them ¹. Trained in the school of that conqueror, their unceasing enterprise left scarcely any interval of repose, during which our attention might be directed to those nations celebrated in history, which fell not indeed within the limits of the Macedonian empire, but whose transactions derive connexion and unity from those of the western Greeks, a commercial and seafaring, as well as an ambitious and war-like people.

CHAP.
IX.

Connexion
of this his-
tory.

The glory of the kings of Macedon excited the kindred emulation of the royal house of Epirus; a line of princes, who, deducing their origin and establishment from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, had maintained, amidst all the convulsions of the commonwealths of Greece, an undisturbed

Geography
and history
of Epirus.
B. C. 1200
—316.

¹ Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Proem.

CHAP. hereditary sovereignty over the northwestern division of
IX. that country². This mountainous and woody district, extending in breadth fifty miles, in length fifty leagues, early received the name of Epirus, the main land or continent; an appellation naturally enough bestowed on it in contradistinction to the neighbouring islands in the Hadriatic gulph³. It was originally inhabited from north to south by the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians; and was famous in mythology for the oracle of Dodona, for the river Achæron, the Achærusian lake, and the city Pandosia⁴. The impervious ridges of mount Pindus, whose declivities were guarded by the fierce independence of the Æthices and Athamanes, formed its western or Thessalian frontier. On the south it touched the Ambracian gulph; and it terminated northward in the Acroceraunian mountains, towering directly opposite to the heel of Italy⁵.

Its connexion with the Greeks of Italy. B. C. 700—400.

The geographical situation of the two countries naturally produced a commercial connexion between Epirus and the Greek colonies scattered along the Italian coast, from Brundisium at the entrance of the Hadriatic gulph, to Cumæ the mother of Naples on the Tuscan sea. But the moral and political condition of the Epirots and Italian Greeks tended powerfully to strengthen this connexion, and to recommend the Pyrrhidæ (for so the royal lineage of Achilles was named) as the natural defenders of their Italian brethren. The Italian Greeks had risen to distinguished splendour under the institutions of Pythagoras and his followers. Their country, together with the confederate isle of Sicily, received and once honourably upheld the name of Magna Græcia⁶. But in consequence of the persecution and total destruction of the Pytha-

² The sceptre passed quietly from father to son for nine centuries, from the foundation of the kingdom by Neoptolemus to Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316. Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. s. 36. This stability is ascribed to the equitable moderation of the government. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

³ Πάντα πρὸς τι. The central and

largest of the Orcades, (the Orkney islands), bears the same appellation.

⁴ Strabo, l. vi. p. 256. Thucyd. l. i. Plin. l. iv.

⁵ Id. *ibid.*

⁶ Ἐπὶ τοσούτον ὑξήθητο ὡς τὴν μεγάλῃ Ἑλλάδι ταύτην ἰαίον καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. Strabo, l. vi. sub init.

gorean band, both countries, included under that name, experienced a dreadful reverse of fortune; being precipitated from the height of unrivalled prosperity into a series of calamities equally unexampled⁷. CHAP. IX.

It is just matter of regret, that history should laboriously record the tiresome or disgusting incidents of sieges and massacres, and leave us to collect from a few obscure hints, the time and circumstances of a revolution perpetually interesting to mankind. The ruin of the Pythagoreans was sudden, unexpected and universal; and the cities of Magna Græcia deprived at one stroke of men qualified to conduct their affairs honourably, fell a prey to such disorders as are always to be apprehended, when in the struggle of parties, power falls into the hands of the worst and basest portion of the community. Banishment and confiscation seemed but moderate evils; the whole country was deformed by sedition and murder. The states of ancient Greece learned with amazement the calamitous and afflicted condition of their once flourishing colonies, and deeply compassionating their sufferings, sent embassies into Magna Græcia, with a view to extinguish the animosities by which it was consumed. When the violence of the fermentation abated, the cities of Italy committed their concerns to the good faith and wisdom of the Achæans, whose government had, from an early age, afforded the best model of a democratic confederacy. In process of time, they endeavoured to conform to the Achæan institutions, both sacred and civil. The deliberations of Crotona, Sybaris, and Caulonia, were held in a common temple, consecrated to Jupiter the lover of concord and patron of confederacies⁸. We know not how far the neighbouring states concurred in this salutary plan; which was finally defeated by the arms and intrigues of the elder Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, and by the perpetual incursions and unceasing opposition of the native Italians,

Condition
of those
Greeks
after the
destruction
of the Py-
thagorean
band.
Olymp. lx.
2. B. C.
539.

⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. Conf. Strabo, l. vi. p. 252. 263. & 280. & l. viii. p. 384. & seq.

l. viii. p. 385. & 387. In these passages I read *ὁμαρίω*, instead of *ὁμορίω*. Vid. Not. Schwiegh. ad Polyb. vol.

⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. & Strabo, v. p. 435. & seq.

CHAP. IX. who, while the Greek colonies occupied the coast, still retained possession of the inland country.

Threatened with destruction by the natives of Italy.

These natives, whose language was preserved⁹ by the Romans after the people themselves had perished and were forgotten, appeared to have greatly multiplied in the southern part of the peninsula, while invasions of the Gauls desolated and deformed the north, and encroachments of the Tuscans and Latins improved and embellished its centre. Though divided into different tribes, and distinguished by different names, they appear to have been most of them branches from the same ancient stock, called Opici by the Greeks¹⁰, and Osci by the Romans. That the Sabines were Osci, was proved by the sameness of language¹¹; and the evidence of history concurs with this identity of dialect in proving that Samnium was colonized by the Sabines¹²; Campania and Lucania, by the Samnites; and that the Brutii were revolted slaves of the Lucanians¹³. Such is the filiation of the fierce barbarians, who, together with the unknown tribe of the Calabri or Messapians, bordered on the territories of the Greek sea-ports in Italy.

The Italian Greeks assisted by the Epirots. Olymp. ex. 4.—cxiv. 1. B. C. 337—324.

The commercial cities of Crotona and Tarentum, which united the turbulence of democracy with the vices of luxury, compared their own licentious effeminacy with the disciplined valour of the Epirots, whose martial spirit was as proverbial as that of their hounds and mastiffs¹⁴, and whose loyal obedience had been confirmed into habit, under a race of kings, who appear never to have violated their coronation oath of governing according to law¹⁵. The reigning king of Epirus

⁹ Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 233. and Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 2. They speak particularly of the Oscan tongue. pubemque Sabellam. Georg. l. ii. v. 167.

¹⁰ Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnass, &c.

The Samnites, descendents of the Sabines, were those with whom the Romans waged the bloodiest and most obstinate wars.

¹¹ Mars a Sabinis acceptus, ubi Mamers. Varro de Ling. Latin. Mamercus Prænomen Oscum est. Festus.

¹³ Strabo, l. v. p. 228.

¹⁴ Veloces Spartæ catulos, ac remque Molossum. Virgil, Georg. l. iii. v. 405.

¹² Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 20. and Virgil, Hæc genus acre virum Marsos,

¹⁵ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

was Alexander, brother of the too celebrated Olympias, a princess whose crimes are emblazoned by the inimitable glory of her son. He was the chosen friend of Philip of Macedon, who, not contented with marrying Alexander's sister, gave him in marriage his own daughter Cleopatra. This prince, whose character was worthy of his illustrious connexions, in the course of fourteen years thrice invaded Italy, at the instigation of the Tarentines and other Greek colonies. His first expedition was undertaken the year immediately following that in which Philip defeated the confederate Greeks in the field of Chæronea. The second happened seven years afterwards. The third and last, which ended in the perfidious murder of Alexander of Epirus, was contemporary with the death of his nephew and brother-in-law at Babylon ¹⁶, a death totally the reverse of his own, since the great Macedonian died in the midst of his friends and in the arms of victory.

In his first invasion of Italy, Alexander protected his allies, and diffused the glory of his name; but the extent of his success is not accurately defined in history ¹⁷. The second expedition was distinguished by a signal victory, gained in a pitched battle over the Lucanians and Samnites, near the Greek city of Pæstum or Posidonia, on the Lucanian shore, from whence he had proceeded to invade the inland country. The importance of this achievement was not overlooked by the Romans, then in the eighteenth year of their war with the Samnites: a war the most obstinate that they ever waged, which only terminated fifty years after this period, in consequence of a series of destructive campaigns, which are acknowledged, even by the patriotism of Livy, to be alike tiresome to the historian and his reader. The Romans sent to

¹⁶ Livy, l. viii. c. 24. says Eodem anno Alexandriam in Egypto proditum conditam, Alexandrumque Epiri ab exsule Lucano interfectum. The era of Alexandria, however, reaches seven years higher. See

Pighius' Annals and an. U. C. 420. Livy, is always unhappy in speaking of Alexander the Great, and of every thing that bears a reference to that conqueror.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. viii. 3.

CHAP. IX. congratulate Alexander on his victory, and entered into alliance with him. The treaty was observed; but its observance on the part of the Epirot is ascribed to his misfortunes, not to any disinclination to make war with Rome, had the conquest of Lucania and Samnium opened to him the way into Latium¹⁸.

His murder
in Italy.
Olymp.
cxiv. 1. B.
C. 524.

Alexander commenced successfully his third expedition against Italy. He recovered from the Lucanians, Heraclæa, a colony of Tarentum; and from the Brutii, Terina, a colony of Crotona. He invaded both Lucania and Messapia, made himself master of several strong-holds, and sent three hundred of the principal inhabitants as hostages into Epirus. The confines of the Lucanians and Brutii were divided by the small but independent district of Pandosia, a Greek city, near the foot of whose walls the river Achæron flows into the Tuscan sea. Alexander, in occupying three eminences in this district for the purpose of making incursions on all sides into the territories of his enemies, was not aware that he had posted himself in that situation, which alone he had been warned to avoid. Before sailing for Italy, he had consulted the oracle of Dodona, which foretold in ambiguous language the disasters awaiting him at Achæron and Pandosia; names common to his native country of Epirus, and to this maritime district of Italy, now occupied by his arms. The priests of Dodona, and still more notoriously those of Delphi, maintained much connexion with sacerdotal casts or families, holding the chief authority in many commercial cities, not only of Europe, but of Asia and Africa. By means of this correspondence, as well as from the information of pilgrims and merchants who frequented their oracular shrines, they learned many minute local details concerning all the most famous countries of antiquity; and on the present, as on other occasions, their knowledge in geography was employed as an engine of their hierarchical policy. The Italian Achæron, to which they alluded, had been swelled by torrents from the neighbouring mountains; and had deluged the intermediate

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. viii. 17.

plains between the three posts of the Epirots; two of which being thus cut off from communication with the third and with each other, were surprised and taken by the enemy; who elated with this success, marched through the flooded country to attack the king in person. Alexander had incautiously admitted among his guards two hundred Lucanian exiles; who, perceiving his reverse of fortune, were eager to rescue themselves from banishment by delivering him alive or dead into the hands of his enemies. The condition being accepted by their countrymen, the guards prepared for fulfilling it with the levity of barbarians, and the perfidy of exiles. Alexander issuing from his camp had broken through the enemy, and having killed the leader of the Lucanians with his own hand, advanced to cross the Achæron, where a bridge partly overturned by the sudden inundation pointed to him the way. In wading through the uncertain ford, his soldiers, overcome with fear and fatigue, reproached the odious river, exclaiming, that it justly derived its name from a word expressive of sorrow. The fatal sound deeply affected the king; he hesitated whether to proceed; when a youth, who attended him, pointed out the treacherous Lucanians hastily advancing to execute their purpose. Alexander spurred his horse into the middle of the stream; but had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when he fell by the javelin of a Lucanian exile. His remains were miserably mangled by the insolent barbarians, who used them in odious mockery as buts to shoot at with their darts; until their horrid pastime was ended by the interposition of a female whose husband and children had been sent prisoners into Epirus. Hoping, with the remains of the king, to redeem her family from captivity, she obtained leave to send his bones to Metapontum, a Greek city on the coast of Lucania; from whence they were conveyed to Epirus¹⁹.

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 24. Conf. Aulus Gellius, l. xvii. c. 21. The latter writer speaks so carelessly of Alex-

ander the Molossian, as this king of Epirus was called (in Italian venit, bellum populo Romanofactus,

CHAP.

IX.

Transition
to the His-
tory of
Sicily.

Its revolu-
tions from
the down-
fall of the
Pythagore-
ans to the
reign of
Agathocles.
Olymp.
cxv. 4. B.
C. 317.

Alexander's expeditions into Italy, though they terminated unhappily for himself, yet retarded the subjugation of Magna Græcia, which was destined to fall by the Romans, a nobler enemy, after it had been defended in a war of six years by Pyrrhus, a more illustrious champion. The first invasion of Pyrrhus is separated by an interval of forty-three years from the death of Alexander of Epirus. During this important period, while the Epirots were too deeply concerned in the affairs of their Macedonian neighbours, to pay much attention to distant transactions in Magna Græcia, the beautiful island comprehended under that general name produced events as important as they are extraordinary, and calculated to excite interest in every age of the world. The destruction of the Pythagoreans in Sicilia, appears to have been followed by similar disorders to those which accompanied the ruin of their brethren in Italy. Democracies every where sprang up, which universally ended in tyrannies. The work of expelling the tyrants was begun by the patriotism of Dion, and completed by the magnanimity of Timoleon²⁰. The latter delivered Syracuse, which then swayed the resolutions or guided the opinions of all the Greek colonies in Sicily, a little more than a year before Philip of Macedon subdued the Athenians and their allies in the battle of Chæronea. During the few years that Timoleon lived after that memorable event, his virtues and his renown overawed the tumultuary passions of the Sicilians, and gradually recalled their attention to those arts and pursuits from which their ancestors had derived a measure of wealth and strength that rendered their comparatively petty island, a fit counterpoise to the mightiest kingdoms. Timoleon's authority continued to his death, when the turbulent Sicilians again became a prey to their ancient disorders; which, in less than twenty years, paved the way for

&c.), that our confidence is destroyed in his report of the comparison ascribed to him; namely, that his nephew's invasion of Asia was a visit to the women's apartment; his

own expedition into Italy, a war against men.

²⁰ Plutarch in Dion. et in Timoleon.

the usurpation and long reign of Agathocles²¹; one of the most memorable in history for the singular combination of craft and courage; for audacious enterprises coolly executed, and indefatigable exertions always most wickedly directed.

The early adventures of Agathocles well qualified him for the singular character which he was to exhibit on a throne. He was the son of an Italian potter, who, having been banished from Rhegium, fixed his abode at Thermæ in Sicily, and afterwards at Syracuse. Agathocles learned to exercise his father's trade; but his beauty soon recommended him to Damas, a wealthy voluptuary of Syracuse, who, being appointed general against Agrigentum, intrusted his minion with the office of Chiliarch, commander of a thousand men. Upon the death of Damas, Agathocles married his widow, and thereby became possessed of great opulence. The enjoyments, however, of domestic life were ill adapted to his temper. Soon after his marriage we find him as Chiliarch in an army which Syracuse had sent to defend Crotona against the assaults of the Brutii, fierce mountaineers, neighbours to that still flourishing colony, and its implacable enemies. In this warfare, Agathocles distinguished himself by the weight of his armour, which none but himself could wield; by the impetuosity of his courage, the readiness and rashness of his hand, and the audacious vehemence of his tongue. His exploits entitled him to the first prize of valour, but he was deprived of this expected reward by the generals Heraclides and Sosistratus, men envious, unjust, and profligate; who had obtained power in the state and the command of armies, amidst dark intrigues and daring murders²². Agathocles, to whom a privation of honour seemed positive disgrace, loudly arraigned his commanders; part of the army embraced his cause; complaints were sent to Syracuse; but the influence of fear or faction prevailed over justice in the assembly: and the generals being acquitted of the malversation with which

CHAP.
IX.

His early
adven-
tures.

Distin-
guishes
himself in
the defence
of Crotona.
Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.

²¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 1. and seq.

²² Diodor. l. xix. s. 3.

CHAP.
IX.

His trans-
actions at
Crotona,
Tarentum,
and Rhegi-
um.

they were charged, returned to Syracuse at the end of the expedition, to resume the chief offices of government; while Agathocles remained in Italy, with the malecontents attached to his interests. At the head of this band of voluntary exiles, the restless activity of the Chiliarch could not fail to be speedily distinguished. He began by an enterprise as bold as it was unexpected. This was nothing less than to surprise Crotona, the place which he had been sent to succour, and in the defence of which he had recently signalized his prowess. Having failed in this flagitious undertaking, he escaped to Tarentum with his adherents, much diminished in number, and was taken into the pay²³ of that wealthy community, which had gradually gained an ascendancy over its ancient rival Crotona, chiefly through the exclusive advantages of its harbour, affording safe anchorage in all seasons, and commanding the commerce of Italy from Sipontum in Apulia to the promontory of Japygium²⁴. The bold intriguing spirit of Agathocles, soon rendered him obnoxious to the Tarentines, and occasioned his dismissal from their service. His former associates still followed his fortunes, much reinforced in numbers by fugitives and banditti from the neighbouring parts of Italy. With this motley army prepared for every service by which it might procure pay and plunder, he readily undertook the defence of Rhegium, a city nearly opposite to Messene¹ in Sicily, and which is said to derive its name from a supposed convulsion of the elements by which that island was broken off and for ever separated from the neighbouring continent²⁵. Rhegium was then besieged by an army of Syracusans, under the command of Heraclides and Sosistratus, Agathocles' personal as well as political foes. They were compelled to raise the siege; and at their return to Syracuse fell into such disgrace, and were exposed to such danger, that they thought it prudent to quit the city, accompanied by numerous partisans. *Their* departure was the

²³ Ibid. s. 4.

²⁴ Polybius, l. x. c. 1.

²⁵ Pomponius Mela, l. ii. c. 7.
Conf. Virgil Æneid, l. iii. v. 414.

signal for Agathocles' return. A civil war ensued; several battles were fought, and on every occasion, and almost in every station, the son of the potter approved himself alike fertile in resources and intrepid in danger, with a presence of mind that no perversity of fortune could disconcert, and a perseverance of resolution that no severity of hardship could subdue. At length his name grew so famous amongst the troops, that when the leaders of the different factions, desirous of finally terminating their differences, and of settling quietly in their common country, entered for this purpose into treaty with each other, Agathocles, by general consent, was appointed guardian of the peace, and provisional general of the republic. For the exercise of this important employment, after taking an oath to preserve the democracy, he was intrusted with a considerable body of troops, which were still kept on foot, and which he speedily augmented under pretence of reducing a body of malecontents assembled at Erbita. This was an inland town, twenty miles north of the ancient and central city of Enna, a place whose natural singularities made it a fit scene for some of the most romantic fictions of mythology; the rape of Proserpine as she gathered flowers in its odoriferous²⁶ vale, by Pluto issuing in his car from a profound chasm amidst its fantastic precipices; and Ceres, (herself a native of Enna and its bountiful²⁷ patroness), seeking her fair daughter through the world, with lights borrowed from the neighbouring furnaces of Ætna²⁸.

CHAP.
IX.His return
to Syra-
cuse.General of
that repub-
lic.

In making his new levies, Agathocles purposely passed over the numerous inhabitants who crowded the streets of Syracuse, but was careful to enlist the townsmen of Morgantium, and other subordinate inland districts which had long experienced the vexatious tyranny of the Sicilian capital, and therefore detested equally its nobles and its people.

²⁶ The strength of its odours overpowered the scent of dogs, and made them lose the tract of their game. Aristot. de Mirabil. wheat superior to that cultivated in other parts of the island or in any other country in the world. Aristot. ibid.

²⁷ She gave to it a species of ²⁸ Diodor. l. xix. s. 5.

CHAP. IX. Having thus provided himself with fit instruments of sedition, he delayed not to employ them. Tisarchus and Diocles²⁹ who were now regarded as the leaders of the aristocratic party, were summoned to meet him at the gymnasium or school of exercise, which derived its name from the tomb of Timoleon³⁰, the illustrious deliverer of Sicily from the dominion of tyrants. They repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by forty of their friends. Of this number, which he affected to think formidable, Agathocles availed himself as an excuse for putting them under arrest, and for accusing them before the army, as having come with an intention to seize his person; lamenting his own hard fate in provoking by his love for the soldiers and the democracy, the machinations of powerful and unrelenting enemies. The soldiers cried out "put them all to death." The trumpets sounded a charge; and the troops hastened to take vengeance on the council of six hundred, which had composed the late oligarchy, and all their adherents, belonging to every family of distinction in Syracuse. The streets of that capital were deformed by the fury of ruffians acting with the regularity of soldiers; the gates of its proud palaces were demolished; their walls were scaled; the sanctity of temples was profaned; and what appeared an abomination not less execrable, the retired privacy of female apartments was rudely invaded. The number of slain exceeded four thousand; and upwards of six thousand fled into banishment, chiefly to Agrigentum. The historian, himself a Sicilian, testifies his own unfitness³¹ to paint the sad domestic calamity; a calamity, he says, sufficient to melt into compassion the most obdurate enemy of the Sicilian name.

Murders
all the prin-
cipal
citizens.

²⁹ Polyzn. l. v. c. 3.

³⁰ Timoleonteum. Corn. Nepos in Timoleon sub fin. Wesselingius refers to Sylburgius' notes on Pausanias, l. ii. p. 171. On turning to that

work, I do not verify his reference.

³¹ Diodorus, l. xix. c. 7.

What mourner ever felt poetic fires!
Slow comes the verse that real woe
inspires. *Tickel.*

On the third day, (for the massacre lasted two days and two nights), Agathocles summoned the citizens of Syracuse to the market-place. He arraigned the acts of the late oligarchy, whose members had been just punished with signal vengeance. "The republic being now purged from the corruption which had so long infected it, nothing more," he said "remained for him to perform. He wished therefore to abdicate his office, and to mix as a private man with the crowd." So saying, he began to divest himself of his military garment. But his particular adherents, abetted by all those who felt themselves gorged with blood and plunder, intreated that he would not forsake his friends and the commonwealth. Affecting to yield reluctantly to their solicitations, he required however one condition, that his administration should not be clogged with the weight of colleagues. The condition was accepted. He was voted sole general by acclamation and holding up of hands. From this time forward, though he neither assumed the diadem, nor was attended by guards, nor affected the external show of royalty, he exercised with vigour the principal branches of kingly power: appointed and disciplined the army; increased and equipped the fleet; raised, directed, and improved the revenues.

CHAP.
IX.

Usurps
the whole
authority
of the re-
public.
Olymp.
cxv. 4. B.
C. 317.

The capacious ambition of Agathocles was not to be satisfied with the possession of Syracuse and its diminutive territory. He aspired to dominion over the whole island, which, even then in its comparatively degraded and disunited state, still continued the richest and best cultivated portion of the western world. But the occasion requires that we should here describe its condition more particularly, as well as the circumstances of the nations among whom it was divided. From the admirable digression of Thucydides, concerning the antiquities of Sicily, each sentence of which contains matter of important information, we learn that three hundred years before the establishment and diffusion of Greek colo-

He aspires
to the do-
minion of
Sicily —
Different
powers in
the island.

CHAP. IX. nies over its southern and eastern coasts, its ancient inhabitants the Sicani, a people from Spain, were conquered by the Siculi, an obscure Italian tribe, from which the name of Sicania was changed into that of Sicily³². The Siculi appear to have been contented with the more valuable parts of the island, without totally extirpating the Sicani, who, flying before their arms, sought refuge in the western corner adjacent to the promontory of Lilybæum, where, being reinforced by some fugitive Greeks and Phrygians after the taking of Troy, they founded Eryx and Egesta, under the common name of Elymi, a name which they assumed from Trojan Elymus³³. The Phœnicians, also, had early established themselves for the sake of commerce near different promontories of Sicily, as well as on the various small islands in its neighbourhood. But after the aggrandizement of the Greek colonies, whose origin and progress we endeavoured formerly to describe, the Phœnicians, or rather the Carthaginians, who now eclipsed in power and fame their Tyrian ancestors, thought fit to contract their numerous settlements within the strong-holds of Motya, Panormus, and Solois, preferring this situation on account of their friendship with the Elymi who inhabited those western districts, and because the navigation from thence to Carthage, was both the safest and most expeditious. In the flourishing times of Magna Græcia, the Carthaginians were thus confined to a corner of Sicily, while the Siculi were driven from the coast to the inland mountains. But in the interval of near two centuries, which elapsed from the memorable trophies of Syracuse and Agrigentum to the usurpation of Agathocles, the Siculi had almost disappeared; whereas, the Carthaginians on the contrary, under the wise and steady guidance of their senate, had slowly but surely extended their possessions from Motya to Heracleæa on one

³² Thucyd. l. vi. p. 411. et seq. Trojanusque Elymus; structis qui,
Edit. H. Steph. pube sequuta,

³³ Miscuerant Phrygiam prolem In longum ex sese donarunt nomi-
Trojanus Acestes, na muris. Silius Ital. l. xiv.

side, and from Solis to Hamera on the other; so that nearly a fourth part of the island now acknowledged their dominion. CHAP.
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In his lofty project of aggrandizement, Agathocles might disdain the barbarous and obscure Siculi; he was already master of Syracuse, and might hope to divide and conquer the subordinate Greek colonies; but the power of Carthage seemed to form an insurmountable barrier to his plan of undivided empire. About half a century before the commencement of her wars with Rome, from which era she began uniformly to decline, Carthage was in the zenith of her greatness, possessing, besides innumerable colonies in all the western isles of the Mediterranean, and on several of its coasts, an undisturbed dominion over fifteen hundred miles of the African shore, from the confines of Cyrene to the pillars of Hercules; and even beyond these ideal boundaries, her commercial settlements stretched five degrees to Cerne on the ocean nearly opposite to the Canaries, then dignified by the name of the Fortunate Isles. But the nature, rather than the extent of this territory, rendered it important in four essential articles of national prosperity; agriculture, commerce, arts, and arms.

The Carthaginians settled on a coast, which anciently as well as in modern times justly deserved the name of *Barbary*. This savage country they gained not as conquerors, but purchased lands from the natives, on the condition of yearly rents, which seem to have been faithfully paid to the time of Darius Hystaspes³⁴. When they felt their own strength, they withheld these contributions, but compensated for this irregularity by exerting themselves in the civilization of their wild and wandering neighbours; by teaching them to live in houses, to exercise agriculture and to relish the security and the sweets of a settled and peaceful life. The country stretching directly southward from the bay of Carthage to Lake Triton and the desert, opened a wide and alluring field to the labour of the husbandman. It exceeded two hundred

State of
Carthage at
that time.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2. B.
C. 315.

Zeugitana
and Byza-
tium.

³⁴ Justin, xix. 2.

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IX.

Libyphœ-
nices.

Syrtic re-
gion.

miles in length, from north to south, and for the most part extended one hundred and fifty miles in breadth. Its northern division was called Zeugitana; its southern, comprehended within the circumference of two hundred and forty miles, first received the name of Byzatium³⁵, and afterwards that of *Emporia*, because the towns in that district became the principal staples for the interior trade of Africa. To this favoured tract the Carthaginians, as their maritime capital grew inconveniently populous, or their citizens restless and turbulent, were continually sending new colonies³⁶; which, mixing with the rude natives under the common name of Libyphœnices, skilfully cultivated the ground, and gradually reduced the whole region under a willing obedience to Carthage. The territories of Zeugitana and Byzatium soon began, and long continued, to afford a copious source of public abundance as well as private opulence³⁷. In those provinces chiefly the Hannos, the Barcas, and the Magos possessed such extensive and valuable estates as seemed to raise them above the condition of subjects or citizens³⁸: the commonwealth of Carthage supplied its public granaries from the same territories; and by imposing on them an annual tribute in grain, was enabled to provide large magazines, and to maintain great armies. To the eastward of the Libyphœnicians, the Syrtic region, now composing the barbarous and piratical kingdom of Tripoli, extended above five hundred miles along a sandy plain scantily watered by small rivulets, near

³⁵ Byzatium is derived by Bochart Canaan, l. i. c. 1. from Biza, Mamma, the emblem of fertility. The same word expressing Homer's *ῥαγ ἀγυγας* is applied to it by Procopius de Bell. Vandalic.

³⁶ Aristot. Politic. l. vi. c. 5.

³⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 62. The single city of Leptis paid a talent daily to Carthage; that is, the amount of 70,000*l.* annually. Pliny. l. xvii. c. 7. calls Byzatium "illum centena et quinquagena fruge fertilem campum," adding, that after rain he had seen the soil

ploughed by a weakly little ass and a poor old woman shamefully joined to the same yoke.

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 5. The great families in Carthage should seem to have addicted themselves to agriculture not less than to commerce. After the third Punic war, Mago's 128 books of husbandry were translated by order of the Roman senate; but it does not appear that the lands of Africa, like those of Italy, ever waxed luxuriant under the real manual labour of laurelled ploughmen. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

to some of which the Carthaginians had erected a few feeble and scattered colonies. The western division of this large tract of country, generally unfit for agriculture ³⁹, was inhabited by the obscure tribes of the Ausenses and Machlyes, and the more famous Lotophagi, so named from the Lotus, (the Rhamnus Lotus of Linnæus), the fruit of which served the double purpose of corn and of wine ⁴⁰. The Lotophagi were masters of the island Meninx, and held possession of the adjacent coast as far eastward as Leptis Magna, the modern Tripoli. The rest of the Syrtic region to the confines of Cyrene, and the immortal monuments of the Philænian brothers, was divided among the wandering tribes of the Macæ, Psylli, Nasamones, and Garamantes ⁴¹, shepherds and merchants, who, besides paying many of them at least a tribute to Carthage, put that republic in exclusive possession of a commerce which now enriches many states of Barbary. This trade was carried on anciently, as it is at present, by caravans; and by the exchange of salt for slaves, of dates for cattle, above all, of trinkets for gold ⁴²; which appears to have been the magnet that attracted the northern Africans through the desert to the countries abounding in that precious metal. But this lucrative trade, of which, as above mentioned, the cities of Byzantium were the staples, formed only the eastern and least important link of the chain. The western was far more extensive, stretching along the coast of Barbary, and even that of Morocco, as far as Cerne and the Canary isles. The greater part of this vast and now dreary space was brightened by the Metagonite cities or fortresses ⁴³, which, whatever may be the origin of their name, appear to have been founded by the Carthaginians for

³⁹ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 177. & seq.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 2.

⁴¹ Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835. and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 616. & seq. The Garamantes lived the most inland of all, inhabiting the country now called Fezzan, the greatest oasis in the world.

⁴² Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 180, with Professor Heeren's Commentary in his *Ideen*, p. 155. Leo Africanus, p. 31. Bruce, Poiret, and Proceedings of African Association.

⁴³ Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. and l. xviii. p. 827. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 3. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. *Μεταγον*.

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maintaining their communication, not only with the inland countries in that division of Africa, but with the negroes on the gold coast⁴⁴, and with the rich Phœnician colonies of Gades and Tartessus⁴⁵.

Military
force of
Carthage.

Enriched with the gifts of agriculture and commerce, the Carthaginians were not destitute of arms to defend these advantages. The standing military force of their city and immediate territory exceeded forty thousand soldiers: the Libyphœnician husbandmen could raise a militia of fifty and seventy thousand men: and in the needy Numidians who roved between their dominions and the Sahara or desert, they found an inexhaustible supply of mercenaries; who served sometimes as light infantry, defended only by shields of elephants' skins; but generally as cavalry, guiding their docile horses with a cord of broom. The skin of a lion or tiger served them both for clothing, and for covering in the night. While they fought, they were always prepared to fly; and after flight, which with them inferred not disgrace, were always on the first prospect of advantage, ready to renew the charge. They formed not a firm body fit to contend in pitched battles; but they were an useful appendage to regular troops, since their warfare was distinguished by celerity of march, security from surprise, desolating inroads and rapid retreats⁴⁶. Such was the domestic strength of the Carthaginians, whose ships and treasures could occasionally bring into their service, the half naked tribes of Gaul, leagued with bands of white robed Iberians⁴⁷. The inhabitants of the Balearic islands, whose slings had nearly the efficacy of our small arms, were numbered among the subjects of Carthage⁴⁸; and her armies were often reinforced by a line of huge elephants⁴⁹, conducted by their Ethiopian, sometimes called Indian guides. Yet the most natural defences of Carthage were its situation and its fleet. The white promontory looking

⁴⁴ Herodot. l. iv. c. 196.

Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 11.

⁴⁵ Aristot. de Mirabil. Conf. Herodotus, l. i. c. 163. and Strabo, p. 216.⁴⁷ Polybius, l. i. c. 67.⁴⁸ Diodorus, l. v. s. 18.⁴⁹ Polybius passim.⁴⁶ Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 74. and

towards Sardinia is distant about an hundred miles from the promontory Hermæum which points to Sicily. Near the centre of the intermediate coast, and on the east side of a spacious bay, the city of Carthage was built on a small peninsula directly opposite to Utica; which two cities had a mutual and distinct view of each other. The breadth⁵⁰ of the isthmus was about six miles, and the walls of Carthage surrounding the whole city, equalled six times that extent. The citadel Byrsa stood nearly in the middle, overlooking the harbours well secured with galleys, and the little island Cothon, surrounded with arsenals and docks, replenished with timber and resounding with the labours of naval artisans⁵¹.

CHAP.

IX.

Situation
and defen-
ces of the
capital.

Agathocles could not be ignorant of the strength of Carthage, but he was also (as will appear hereafter) well acquainted with her weakness; and viewing both through the medium of his own ambition, he persevered in the purpose of extending his dominion over Sicily. His plan opened with operations against the Greek cities that lay between him and the Carthaginian territory. Ambassadors were sent to Carthage to complain of these aggressions, and the emigrants from Syracuse filled the cities of Gela, Agrigentum and Messene, with the same animosity against the tyrant with which their own bosoms overflowed. The Messenians also had a personal and most serious ground of resentment. Agathocles had recently withheld from them a fortress in their territory for which they had paid him a stipulated ransom; and not contented with this flagrant breach of faith, had made repeated attempts to get possession of Messene itself: in which design he was defeated chiefly through the desperate resistance of the Syracusan exiles. The three allies agreed to request a general from Sparta, the head of the Dorian name, and their common metropolis. Acrotatus, the son of king Cleomenes, was chosen for this command, to which he was totally unequal, and from which he soon retired with disgrace. Meanwhile, Hamilcar arrived as ambassador from Carthage, and mediated a peace on the

Agathocles' treaty
with the
Greek
cities under
the media-
tion of
Hamilcar.

⁵⁰ Polybius, l. i. c. 73.⁵¹ Strabo, lxxvii. p. 833.

CHAP. following conditions, "that Heraclæa, Selinus, and Himera,
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At Agri-
gentum,
the Cartha-
ginians
defeat his
purposes.

should remain subject to the Carthaginians; that the other Greek cities should in peace enjoy their own laws, but in war should follow the standard of Syracuse, and in all public affairs acknowledge her preeminence⁵². Agathocles did not expect that this agreement so favourable to himself, would be maintained or even ratified, by the Carthaginian senate. He was diligent therefore in replenishing his arsenals and magazines, and in addition to the domestic strength of Syracuse and her allies, equipped a choice body of mercenaries amounting to ten thousand foot, and three thousand and forty horse⁵³. At the same time, to avail himself of the treaty just concluded with Hamilcar, he required that the states of Sicily should expel the Syracusan exiles, his active and implacable enemies. They appear all of them except Messene, to have complied with this demand, so that the exiles were either assembled within the walls of that place, or collected in the open country, under the standard of Deinocrates; a man whose life during the Syracusan massacre had been saved by Agathocles, through private friendship; and who was destined both as an enemy and as a friend to take a distinguished part in the succeeding transactions of his reign.

Agathocles' proceedings at Messene. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

The king of Syracuse lost not any time in punishing the contumacy of Messene, in a manner suitable to his own character. His general Pasiphilus having secret instructions from his master, how he should afterwards proceed, first invaded by surprise the Messenian territory, and made himself master of many prisoners, and much booty. He then required a conference with the principal magistrates; assured them that Agathocles would rather be their friend than their enemy; but that he never could become the former, while duped by lies and artifices, they harboured the persons most hostile to himself and to the public tranquillity. The Messenians, anxious for peace, too readily listened to these admonitions. Having expelled the Syra-

⁵² Diodorus, l. xix. s. 71.

⁵³ Ibid. c. 72.

cusan exiles, who hastened to join their brethren under the standard of Deinocrates, they admitted Agathocles into their city with an armed force. The king affected to treat them with kindness and condescension; his soldiers observed strict discipline. The Messenians were so grossly deluded by him, that they were prevailed on to restore to the honours of citizenship many persons now accompanying his arms, who had been banished their country for flagrant violations of its laws. While this measure filled Messene with his partisans, Agathocles, by one decisive act of villany cleared it of his opponents. Under pretence of important business, which he well knew how to feign, he summoned to meet him above six hundred of the most obnoxious persons, not only from Messene, but from the neighbouring city of Tauromenium. They were all inhumanly butchered⁵⁴. Three years before, he had treated with equal cruelty his enemies at Abycænum, a town in the same corner of the island; and these dreadful examples (so contemptible was then the temper of the Sicilians) served only to inspire terror, and to confirm his usurpation. The tyrant crossed the country from Messene to Agrigentum, from whence his emissaries had sent him notice of a brooding rebellion. The magistrates of the latter city were saved from destruction by the seasonable arrival of sixty Carthaginian ships in the mouth of their river. This act of hostility on the part of Carthage, was speedily and effectually retorted by Agathocles, who invaded her possessions beyond Heraclæa, took some of her strong-holds by assault, and gained others by capitulation.

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IX.

Agrigentum saved by the Carthaginians.

Meanwhile, Deinocrates, who of all men best knew the formidable energy of the tyrant, sent messengers to Carthage to explain the momentous nature of the war, and the necessity of pushing it immediately with armaments alike suitable to the emergency, and becoming the dignity of so mighty a commonwealth. His own band of exiles had been lately reinforced by the fugitives from Messene. This in-

Deinocrates and the Carthaginians oppose him unsuccessfully. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

⁵⁴ Diodorus, l. xix. c. 102.

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crease of strength encouraged him to assault the inland towns of Centuripæ and Galaria, both situate among the western roots of Mount Ætna; and in both of which he had secret partisans. His attempt failed at Centuripæ; and afforded a pretext to Agathocles for putting to death many of its citizens. At Galaria, his troops exceeding three thousand foot and two thousand horse, entered the place, and expelled a Syracusan garrison. They even ventured to meet Agathocles in the field; who hastened to its relief. The tyrant defeated them; retook Galaria, and punished its obnoxious citizens with death. While engaged in these transactions, he heard that the Carthaginians had fortified in the territory of Gela, a camp on mount Ecnomos, "the lawless, or as it was sometimes called, the cursed mountain," because the favourite strong-hold of the tyrant Phalaris, and the scene of his abominable cruelties. Agathocles marched thither; and having challenged the enemy to a combat, which they judged it prudent to decline, returned to Syracuse loaded with spoil, and suspended in the temples of his capital his twofold trophies over Greeks and barbarians⁵⁵. His triumph however was not of long duration. The Carthaginians had hitherto been contented with sending to the coast of Syracuse an inconsiderable squadron, which had only disgraced itself by capturing an Athenian merchantman (though Athens was a neutral power) and disabling its sailors by cutting off their hands. But they had now equipped an armament of an hundred and thirty galleys, with an incomparably greater number of transports. The troops on board exhibited that wonderful variety, which characterized the Carthaginian armies. They were amply provided with magazines of weapons and of corn. The command was bestowed on Hamilcar, the son of Giscon; thus characterized to distinguish him from that Hamilcar, who had concluded the late treaty with Agathocles; and who for his share in that transaction, had been condemned by a

Prepara-
tions of the
Carthagini-
ans and loss
of their sa-
cred band.
Olymp.
cxvii. 2. B.

⁵⁵ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 103. et seq.

secret decision of the supreme court of judicature of Carthage, a most tyrannical tribunal! but by a seasonable death, had escaped the infamy of a public execution. The son of Giscon was furnished with an immense treasure for hiring new mercenaries in Sicily, and in every country where they could be found. In the voyage to Sicily, though made during summer, the armament was overtaken by a sudden and tremendous tempest, which sunk sixty galleys,† and shattered in pieces two hundred ships of burthen. The loss most afflicting to the Carthaginians was that of their *sacred* band: for so at least, it was named by the Greeks, probably from its reminding them of the sacred band of the Thebans. It consisted of two thousand and five hundred distinguished youths, sons of the most illustrious families of Carthage, all warmly animated by that kind of patriotism, which led them on every occasion to be lavish of their lives in defence of their hereditary wealth, and their conspicuous prerogatives. Of this noble band, which was often exhausted, but always instantly supplied from a vast crowd of expectants, the greater part perished in the tempest; upon intelligence of which sad event, the Carthaginians proclaimed a public mourning; and according to custom covered even the walls of their city with black hangings⁵⁶.

Hamilcar appears to have landed on the southern coast, in a bay immediately under the fortress of Ecnomos. He reviewed his remaining forces, summoned his allies, and collected mercenaries; and notwithstanding his disaster at sea, soon found himself in a condition to take the field with an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His ships of war meanwhile were not idle. The soundest of them immediately put to sea, and captured near the straits of Messene twenty galleys belonging to Syracuse, with the whole of their crews. Agathocles was not insensible to this misfortune, nor unconcerned at the mighty preparations of the enemy; but the consideration which gave him most

Hamilcar
lands in
Sicily with
forty thou-
sand foot
and five
thousand
horse.

⁵⁶ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 106.

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Agathocles
defeated on
the banks of
the Hemi-
ra. Olymp.
cxvii. 2. B.
C. 311.

Agathocles having thus secured Gela, a place of the utmost importance in case of a defeat, advanced towards the eastern or left bank of the Himera, near to the opposite side of which river the Carthaginians were encamped. Mutual incursions of parties brought on a more general engagement, for the success of which, the Syracusan had provided by a well contrived ambush. He was on the point of gaining a signal victory, and even of forcing the enemy's camp, when a Carthaginian fleet, containing a powerful reinforcement appeared, and soon landed near the scene of action. This unlooked for and improbable event disconcerted and dismayed the Greeks, who had already suffered greatly in the assault of the enemy's lines, chiefly from the well aimed discharge of the Balearian slingers placed at a convenient distance, who overwhelmed them with stones of a pound in weight, that shattered the firmest shields and corslets. Such the historian observes, is the address acquired by the Baleárides in an art to which they had been regularly trained from their youth, and habitually improved in it through life⁵⁸. The Greeks soon found themselves exposed to a double attack, from the camp which

⁵⁷ Diodor. s. 107.

⁵⁸ Idem. l. xix. s. 109.

they had in some parts penetrated, and from the unexpected reinforcement just sent from Carthage. They began a disorderly retreat to their own camp near four miles distant. Many of them were trampled down by the Numidian cavalry; and many perished by drinking, exhausted as they were by the canicular heat, the brackish waters of the Himera. Agathocles having assembled his discomfited army, diminished by the loss of seven thousand men, set fire to his camp, which must otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and shut himself up within the walls of Gela⁵⁹.

Defeated but not disconcerted, the tyrant had studiously given out in the midst of his retreat, that he intended immediately to march to Syracuse. A body of three hundred Numidian horse, deceived by this intelligence advanced to Gela as to a friendly city, but were speedily buried at the foot of its walls, by a shower of stones and javelins. Agathocles chose to halt at Gela, not because he could not have proceeded to Syracuse, but that the enemy might be retarded before the former city, till the inhabitants of the latter had time to reap and treasure up their luxuriant harvest. His foresight was justified by the event. Hamilcar sat down before the place; but soon discovered that it was so well provided with every thing necessary for a long and vigorous defence, that he prudently abandoned the enterprise. His decisive victory on the banks of the Himera, opened to him a series of easier and bloodless conquests. The subordinate cities of the island, which like Messene, Abacænum, and Tauromenium, had already experienced, or like Leontium, Camerina, and Catana now dreaded the tyrant's cruelty, were ready to open their gates, and to receive Hamilcar as their deliverer. He joyfully undertook the office, and approved himself worthy of their confidence, both in the regular deportment of his troops, and in the generosity and affability of his personal behaviour⁶⁰. Agathocles meanwhile had repaired to Syracuse, and placed that capital in a firm attitude of defence. Its extensive works were diligently

Agathocles' stratagems.
Hamilcar's respectable behaviour,

⁵⁹ Diodor. s. 100.⁶⁰ Id. ibid.

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Agathocles
puts Syra-
cuse in a
posture of
defence.

examined; and where decayed strengthened. The supplies of the late harvest were treasured in its magazines. It was filled with skilful artisans, qualified to provide all the materials of war; it had soldiers exercised in employing those materials to the best advantage; and it was commanded by a general, whose glory and interest, and personal safety, were concerned in defending it to the last extremity.

Motives
which en-
gaged Aga-
thocles to
invade the
domain of
Carthage.
Olymp.
cxvii. 3. B.
C. 310.

But the care of this defence, Agathocles unexpectedly committed to his brother Antander; while he himself embarked in an expedition at once daring and politic. His capital was soon surrounded by Hamilcar's forces greatly superior to his own, both by sea and land. The inferior cities of Sicily continued to vie with each other, in espousing and promoting the Carthaginian interest. Should Hamilcar be tired out by the obstinacy of a long defence, yet the possession of the whole island besides, would compensate his disgrace in raising the siege of a single city. But the inflexible spirit of the Carthaginian policy gave the king of Syracuse little reason to expect even this alternative. He had too just ground to apprehend that the siege would be converted into a blockade, and that the success which might be denied to the assaults of prowess, would be obtained by the surer operation of time and perseverance. On the side of Sicily, all therefore was dark to Agathocles: but there was another prospect which dispelled his gloom, and animated his alacrity. The vast domain of Carthage was a virgin territory that had never been violated by the rude hand of invasion. The safety of its capital indeed was secured by strong walls, but upwards of two hundred rich and populous towns in the Libyphœnician district, were left open and defenceless⁶¹; agreeably to a stern injunction of the Carthaginian senate, to the end that places, which had little to apprehend from the ignorance and weakness of neighbouring barbarians, might always be at the mercy of their own jealous capital. The blooming spoils of this highly favoured

⁶¹ Justin. l. xxii. c. 52. Conf. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 17

country, which, as we shall see presently, abounded in the richest gifts of nature, and the highest embellishments of art, offered a tempting prize to a greedy tyrant, and his rapacious mercenaries. By invading and plundering it, he would at once carry the war into the heart of the enemy's resources: among the reluctant subjects of Carthage, he expected to find willing auxiliaries: confident in the vigilance of her fleet, the republic had sent the flower of her troops into Sicily: along the whole extent of the African coast from Cernè to Cyrenè, in which latter Agathocles found an eager ally, there was not any military strength capable of resisting the Grecian phalanx, and the assault of regular warfare: by his victories therefore in Africa, he hoped not only to recover his lost dominion in Sicily, but to open to the valour of his followers a wide and almost boundless field of conquest.

The measures which he adopted for executing this undertaking, in the planning of which he had not a single confident, show the dreadful energies of a government by terror. The forces which he purposed to carry with him, besides his mercenaries and manumitted slaves, consisted in the choice of the Syracusan citizens, skilfully selected from each family, that the separation of kinsmen, brothers, and friends, might render those who accompanied the tyrant, hostages for the fidelity of others whom he left behind. Having thus levied about fourteen thousand men, whose destination was equally unknown to themselves and the public, he provided them with all necessaries, particularly with a great abundance of saddles and bridles, for in the battle of Himera he had saved most of his horsemen; whom, without the trouble of transporting horses to Africa, he expected easily to mount in that country. Money was next procured by borrowing from the merchants, and taking into his own hands the fortunes of orphans. The temples were despoiled of their offerings, and the women of their ornaments: and when these enormities excited murmurs in the city, Agathocles summoning an assembly, expressed well

Agathocles' proceedings for securing Syracuse during his absence. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

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feigned sorrow for the exigencies of the moment, and the sacrifices which they required: that for himself who had been inured to hardship, he was prepared to bear the worst evils incident to a siege, but that those who wished to avoid them, might depart from Syracuse with their effects. Many availed themselves of this permission, carrying with them their long concealed treasures. They were waylaid by the tyrant's mercenaries, plundered, and massacred⁶².

Incidents
which fa-
voured his
voyage to
the Liby-
phœnician
coast.

Meanwhile sixty stout galleys were equipped within the windings of the inmost harbour. The troops were embarked; and within a few days obtained an opportunity of sailing by an incident, in which good fortune seconded Agathocles' dexterity. A fleet of victuallers having approached the Syracusan coast, a large Carthaginian squadron quitted its station in order to intercept and take them: the blockade being thus partially removed, Agathocles put to sea: the Carthaginian admiral imagining his sudden appearance to be a manœuvre for protecting the convoy, formed the line of battle. Agathocles disregarding this challenge, rapidly pursued his destined course. The Carthaginians followed him, neglecting the victuallers, which reached Syracuse in safety. Six days and six nights the pursuit was continued. The darkness of the first night, and an eclipse of the sun, which happened on the preceding day delivered Agathocles from the immediate danger of a sea fight, which he earnestly wished to avoid, that he might transport his forces fresh and entire to the Libyphœnician coast. But before he made land, the swiftest of the Carthaginian galleys had reached the slowest of his own. They were repelled chiefly by the great superiority of his marines⁶³. He landed in a small bay near a place called the Quarries; drew his ships on shore; erected a slight and temporary rampart; and following the dictates of real prudence, performed a deed of apparent audacity. Alluding to the legend, of high authority among the Sicilians,

He burns
his fleet.

⁶² Diodorus, l. xx. s. 4.

⁶³ Ibid. l. xx. s. 4—6.

of Ceres seeking her daughter with lights borrowed from Mount Ætna, he said, that amidst the dangers of his voyage, he had vowed to these protecting divinities, the conflagration of his fleet. An attendant brought him a firebrand, which he instantly applied to the admiral galley. The example was followed by all the trierarchs or naval commanders; the flame mounted on high; and the whole fleet was consumed amidst the sound of trumpets and military acclamations⁶⁴. Agathocles, besides thus placing his followers between victory and despair, could not otherwise have prevented his ships from falling a prey to the enemy; since soldiers could not be spared for defending his hastily erected fortification, without too much diminishing his army.

Careful not to allow time for the sensations of his men to vibrate from enthusiasm to despondency, he led them to *Megalopolis*, the great city, through a country smiling with the fairest gifts of long undisturbed industry. The land was on all sides intersected by canals, whose banks were adorned by flourishing plantations or flowery gardens. Amidst scenes of elegance and beauty, the vine and olive claimed admission, on account of their indispensable utility. The opulence of the inhabitants was strongly displayed in the elegant embellishment of their rural mansions, and the well replenished storehouses with which they were surrounded. Troops of young horses sported in irriguous meadows; while the adjoining lawns teemed with herds of sheep and oxen. Throughout the whole prospect, exuberant nature was improved by skillful art, for many of the principal families of Carthage inhabited this district, and vied with each other in cultivating and adorning it⁶⁵.

The soldiers of Agathocles viewed with delight a prize worthy their valour. The town of Megalopolis was taken by the first assault and plundered. That of White Tunes the nearest to it, and two hundred miles distant from Carthage shared the same fate.

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Beautiful
country on
his march
to Megalo-
polis.

He takes
that city
and White
Tunes.

⁶⁴ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 7.

⁶⁵ Ibid. s. 8.

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Sensations
occasioned
at Carthage
by the in-
vasion.

Meanwhile the Carthaginian fleet had observed, at a respectful distance, the proceedings of the enemy. The conflagration of the Syracusan ships, filled them at first with a pleasing astonishment; but this premature emotion was converted into terror and dismay, when they beheld the regular march of the Grecian phalanx into the heart of their country⁶⁶. They ventured however to sail to the enemy's landing place, seized the brazen beaks of their galleys, the principal relics of the conflagration; covered the prows of their own ships with skins dyed black, according to their accustomed practice in times of public mourning, and sent advice boats bearing the same melancholy ensigns to Carthage, with intelligence of the invasion; but at the same time, with the compensating news, that all things were prosperous in Sicily. The sad part of the tidings had already flown from the country to the capital. That luxurious and hitherto peaceful city was thrown into the utmost trepidation. While the senators hastened to their place of meeting, the citizens crowded the market-place, generally believing that their fleets and armies must have perished in Sicily, since Agathocles would never have ventured to invade Africa, unless he had vanquished the armament before Syracuse, and made himself master of the sea. The firmest and wisest counsellors exhorted them to suspend their judgment, until surer intelligence should arrive: while others advised, that ambassadors should be immediately despatched to crave peace, adding in the true spirit of Punic policy, that the same persons would serve as spies on the proceedings and intentions of the enemy⁶⁷.

The do-
mestic
troops of
Carthage
defeated.

The arrival of the advice boats put an end to those deliberations. Hanno and Bomilcar were appointed generals; and ordered immediately to take the field with the domestic strength of the city, exceeding forty thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and one thousand cavalry. These troops, nearly thrice as numerous as the Greeks, were, except the sacred band of two thousand five hundred men,

⁶⁶ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 9.⁶⁷ Id. *ibid*.

in a very imperfect state of discipline; and the Carthaginians loudly reproached the negligence of their navy, to whose protection they had long confided the safety of their shores. Agathocles meanwhile advanced northward, rejoicing to hear that the enemy had quitted their walls, and were prepared to encounter him in battle. Success in a single action, he thought, would enable him to extend his ravages on all sides with security. In order to gain this advantage, he is said to have employed very unusual stratagems. The leathern coverings of the shields belonging to his phalanx, were extended on rods, to supply a defence or rather the show of a defence even to his light armed troops, and (what to silly men will appear a childish expedient), immediately before the action, the owls of Minerva, being in different parts of the line released from their concealment, perched on the heads and shoulders of the soldiers, and filled them with a sure presage of victory. The battle was short but decisive, most of the Carthaginian chariots of war either passed without doing harm, through the intervals left for them between the Grecian ranks, or were made to recoil on their own infantry. The African horse made not a more successful impression, meeting in the long Grecian spear a weapon of all others most effectual against cavalry. When the adverse bodies of infantry engaged, the sacred band, headed by Hanno, signalized its prowess, until that general himself fell; after which, the perfidious Bomilcar, for reasons that will in due time be explained, retreated, with the loss of six thousand men, towards Carthage. The Greeks, of whom two hundred had fallen in the engagement, desisted from an unprofitable pursuit, in order to plunder the Carthaginian camp; in which they found an unexpected booty, not less than twenty thousand pair of fetters for the hands, the Carthaginians having determined to take their enemies alive, that they might shut them up in workhouses, and thereby profit by their labour⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Diodor. l. xx. s. 13.

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Carthaginian
super-
stitions.

Negotia-
tion of Ha-
milcar with
the Syracu-
sans.

During its long and undisturbed prosperity, the republic of Carthage had neglected to consecrate the tythe of its revenues to the gods of Tyre, its ancient but decayed metropolis; and individuals had forborne to propitiate the unrelenting idol of Saturn with burnt offerings of their children. The public disasters reminded them with terror of these omissions. Their portable golden temples inclosing the admired images of their gods, were sent on an embassy of supplication to Tyre; and Saturn, who had been long cheated with the sacrifice of mean supposititious children, was glutted with the blood of five hundred of the noblest youths of the commonwealth⁶⁹. At the same time a vessel was sent to Sicily, requiring assistance from Hamilcar, and conveying to him the brazen beaks of Agathocles' galleys. Of this circumstance the Carthaginian general, who seems to have had all the craft without any of the cruelty of his country, immediately availed himself to despatch a triumphant embassy to the Syracusan generals, requiring them to surrender their city, since their sixty galleys had been burnt, of which the brazen beaks were exhibited as a proof, and Agathocles with his whole army had perished in Africa. The multitude believed; their commanders hesitated; the ambassadors, however, were dismissed; and as provisions began to grow scarce, eight thousand persons, including women and children, were driven from Syracuse, consisting of all those who were nearly related to the exiles, or who had discovered signs of impatience under the present government. Hamilcar received kindly these miserable fugitives; and showed them that he was preparing to advance his machines, and to avenge their wrongs. But before assaulting the city, he sent a second embassy to Antander, Agathocles' brother, promising, that if he would surrender the place, himself and his friends should be safe. Antander summoned a council of war, and being of a character directly the reverse of his brother's gave his own opinion in favour of a capitulation. But Erymnon,

⁶⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 14.

an Etolian, whom Agathocles had left as his joint lieutenant with Antander, did not belie that obstinacy and ferocity for which his republic was conspicuous. CHAP.
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His inflexibility in resisting any proposal for a treaty, was justified by the arrival of a light galley of thirty oars, which had been built by Agathocles after the burning of his fleet, and which, under the command of Nearchus, one of his principal confidants, reached the coast of Syracuse from Africa on the evening of the fifth day, and on the sixth at daybreak darted into the harbour of Trogilus, and got within the batteries of the walls, when she was on the point of being taken by the enemy. The rowers, who were crowned with laurel, chanted pæans of victory; and the citizens, even many of those who guarded the walls, flocked to the harbour, to hear the more joyous because unexpected news of the triumphs of their brethren in Africa. The vigilance of Hamilcar neglected not this opportunity for assailing the deserted ports. But he was repulsed with considerable loss; in consequence of which he determined to remit the siege for the present, and send five thousand of his best troops to Carthage⁷⁰.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, proceeded with a prosperous tide of fortune. He had taken Tunes⁷¹, only fifteen miles distant from Carthage. Having garrisoned that city, he returned eastward to reduce the numerous seaports between the promontory Hermæum, and the Lesser Syrtis. Neapolis, Adrumetum, Thapsus, in all two hundred places, boasting the name of cities, were the prizes of his valour. Elymas, a Libyan prince who had joined his arms, but afterwards discovered an inclination to rebel, was punished with death; and the Carthaginians, who had been encouraged by Agathocles' absence and the arrival of the reinforcement from Sicily, to attempt the recovery of Tunes, were surprised

⁷⁰ Diodor. l. xx. s. 14.

⁷¹ A place carefully to be distin-

guished from White Tunes above mentioned, p. 29.

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in the night, and compelled to retreat to their camp near that place, with the loss of two thousand slain and many made prisoners⁷².

Hamilcar
defeated
before Sy-
racuse and
made pri-
soner.
Olymp.
exvii. 4. B.
C. 309.

During these transactions Hamilcar had experienced the utmost severity of fortune. Encouraged by flattering omens, he had renewed the siege, and ventured to assault Syracuse in the night with his whole force on the side of Olympium, a suburb so named from its temple of Olympian Jupiter, near the right bank of the Anapus, and overlooking the great harbour on the southern side of the city. The Syracusans, apprised of this design, had strengthened the neighbouring fortress of Euryelus with three thousand foot and four hundred horse. Amidst the difficulties of the narrow roads which led to the lofty walls of the capital, a quarrel arose between the long train of Carthaginian engineers and the Sicilian banditti who accompanied the ranks for the sake of plunder. The confusion became general throughout the line, and was speedily perceived by the small garrison of Euryelus, which unexpectedly rushing on the enemy, repelled forty thousand foot and five thousand horse, through the assistance of darkness, deceit, and the difficulties of the country. Hamilcar, resisting bravely and endeavouring to rally his nearest ranks, was taken alive and brought into Syracuse; where, after enduring the most horrid indignities from those whose friends or kinsmen had suffered in the war, his head was cut off and sent in triumph to Agathocles⁷³. The bloody present reached its destination; though the Carthaginians still guarded the coast, and shortly after captured ten Syracusan galleys, which had ventured forth to meet and convoy an expected fleet of victualers.

His death.

A league
formed in
Sicily re-
sembling
the Achæ-
an league
in Greece.

The defeat and death of Hamilcar, who, whatever may have been his military talents, was certainly a general of very distinguished humanity, was followed by important but unforeseen consequences both in Sicily and Africa. The subordinate cities of the island, perceived with deep interest, how much both the Syracusans and Carthaginians exhausted

⁷² Diodor. *ibid.* s. 17. & 18.

⁷³ *Ibid.* s. 30.

themselves by their obstinate warfare, and what threatening clouds of adversity impended over both Syracuse and Carthage, the former divided, depopulated, yet almost famished; the latter often defeated, with a victorious enemy at her gates, and since her recent disaster, without any success in Sicily to compensate her misfortunes in Africa. Amidst the miseries and humiliation of the two great powers, by which they had been alternately subjugated, the cities of Sicily, fifty years before the renewal of the Achæan league in Greece, set on foot a confederacy, animated by like views and originating in similar circumstances. In this honourable design Agrigentum and its general Zenodiscus taking the lead, expelled the Carthaginians from the neighbouring town of Gela: the ancient and central city Enna joined the army of Gela and Agrigentum: Erbesus followed the example; and, assisted by her new allies, defeated her barbarian garrison with great slaughter, and made five hundred prisoners. Some Syracusan troops, availing themselves of their recent advantage over the Carthaginians, had seized the inland town of Echetla, a strong intermediate post between the territories of Camerina and Leontium, by ravaging which they endeavoured to remedy the scarcity of Syracuse. Zenodiscus repelled their incursions, stormed their strong-holds, gave freedom to the inhabitants of Echetla, and united that city, as well as Leontium and Camerina, to the confederacy of equal laws and Sicilian independence⁷⁴. The fame of these exploits spread rapidly over the island; the passion for liberty glowed warm in every breast; the Carthaginians were driven from their garrisons to their ships, and Syracuse had soon far more danger to apprehend from Greek rebels than from barbarous invaders.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, still prospered in Africa. On receiving the head of Hamilcar, he rode furiously within hearing of the Carthaginians before Tunes and

The head
of Hamilcar
displayed
to the Car-
thaginians.

⁷⁴ Diodor. *ibid.* s. 31, 32.

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boasted the complete victory of his generals in Sicily, of which he ostentatiously displayed the horrid trophy. Agreeably to the slavish ceremony with which the Greeks were accustomed to upbraid ⁷³ the *eastern* barbarians, the Carthaginians, also, prostrated themselves on the ground in adoration of the sad remains of their king and general. They were utterly dismayed with the hideous spectacle; kept themselves shut up within their fortifications; and gave indubitable proof of their dismal forebodings concerning the issue of the war. *Their* dejection elevated the minds of the Greeks, always ready to grasp every occasion of rejoicing and festivity. This was the character of the nation, and particularly of Agathocles, in whom the gloomy temper of the tyrant was brightened by the talents of a wit, a mimic, and a buffoon; who delighted in scenes of drunken revelry, during which he discovered the passions of other men while he concealed his own; and who was so little anxious to preserve the state of royalty, that he mixed in familiar jesting with the meanest retainers of the army; and while his friends and generals were served on plate of silver and gold, chose that the humble earthen-ware, from which he himself always preferred to eat, should continually remind him of his ancient trade and lowly origin ⁷⁶. A prince who disdains pride may procure popularity, but is not likely to inspire that habit of respect for his person which will on every occasion overawe his attendants. At an entertainment given by Agathocles, Lysiscus, one of his generals of great renown in the army, insulted his master with the most poignant satire, which might have appeared the more unpardonable, because it was well merited; but Agathocles dexterously sheltered his dignity under the shield of good humour. The reproaches, however, which *he* affected to treat only with ridicule, appeared in a more serious light to his son Archagathus; a son who was deformed by the cruelty and ferocity of his father, without possessing any share of his pleasantry and magnani-

Sedition in
Agathocles' army,
how excited and
how appeased.

⁷⁵ Isocrat. in Panegyri.

⁷⁶ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 63.

mity. The youth not only blamed but threatened Lysiscus; and as they returned in the evening to their tents, renewed the charge with such vehemence, that Lysiscus retorted the indignity by upbraiding Archagathus as the incestuous paramour of his stepmother Alcias. On hearing this personal insult, the son of Agathocles was no longer master of himself. He seized a weapon from one of his attendants, and stabbed the reviler to the heart⁷⁷. Next day the whole camp was in commotion; most demanded the blood of Archagathus and if the father should refuse his son to just punishment, the speediest and most terrible vengeance was threatened on his own head: so deeply were those moved by the death of one of their own fierce companions, who had beheld with the sternest insensibility, the desolation of cities, and the butchering of whole communities. The news of the sedition soon reached the Carthaginians, who ventured to send emissaries to the Greeks, soliciting them to enter into their service on conditions calculated to satiate the keenest appetite for gold. Two thousand yielded immediately to the temptation; and many more promised shortly to join the Carthaginian camp: at the same time that they seized the walls of Tunes, and held Agathocles with the few officers that remained faithful to him, in a state of captivity embittered by agonizing suspense. In this desperate condition, which his cruelties had a thousand times merited, the tyrant was not forsaken by his presence of mind. He knew the temper of crowds, and that commonly none but cowards are their victims. Having approached the armed multitude, he divested himself of his purple robe, assumed a supplicatory garment, and loudly demanded an assembly. The troops made way; and flocked from all quarters to surround the tribunal of their general; who had come to surrender the person of his son, or to perish himself by their hands. This latter, he declared, was his purpose, reminding them how often they had beheld him brave death in the field: that he no more dreaded it in the

⁷⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 33.

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assembly, of which they should presently be witnesses. So saying, he drew his sword, and aimed it at his own bosom. An universal shout suspended his arm; many voices were then heard, commanding him to resume the purple. "If I live," he said, "let it be for some glorious purpose. The Carthaginians have now left their camp, expecting your defection. Follow your king, to punish those who would have subjected you to the infamy of traitors." The Carthaginians, instead of an army of deserters, found a band of resistless assailants; and were driven with great slaughter to their camp⁷⁸. Thus was the imminent danger into which the tyrant had been plunged through the sanguinary rashness of his son, converted through his own cool intrepidity, into a source of glorious success.

Agathocles' defeats the Carthaginians in the country of their Numidian allies. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

Soon after this transaction, Agathocles was called to a new scene of warfare, among the wild and unknown nations of Numidia whose wandering independence separated the maritime empire of Carthage from the Sahara, or Sandy Desert. The Carthaginians had sent a strong army thither, to collect and confirm their Numidian allies; an army strengthened by the two thousand Greeks, who had recently deserted to them. Agathocles, desirous of anticipating the designs of the enemy, and probably not unwilling to divide his mutinous troops, and thus according to his accustomed policy, to render one portion of them hostages for the fidelity of the other, selected from his army in Tunes and its neighbourhood, a body of near ten thousand men, of which eight hundred were cavalry, and marched into the country of a tribe of Numidians called *Zuphones*. There, the Carthaginians, on hearing of the enemy's approach, encamped on an eminence, surrounded by deep and rapid torrents. In this fortress, they endeavoured to render themselves secure against the assaults of the advancing Greeks, while they recommended to their barbarous allies, to harass their rear and flank with those unexpected incursions and rapid retreats, which distinguish

⁷⁸ Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

Numidian warfare, and render it incessantly troublesome, though seldom eminently dangerous. To these desultory skirmishes, Agathocles opposed his slingers and bowmen; and having left behind, under what he deemed a sufficient guard, his heavy baggage and prisoners, marched to assail the enemy's camp. A short conflict ensued at the passage of the intermediate stream, which the Greek deserters, under Clinon, defended with great bravery, until more than one half of them were slain. Agathocles pressed forward, repelled and dispersed the enemy, made many prisoners, but was prevented from further urging the pursuit by information that his own baggage was in the hands of the Numidians. These faithless barbarians had stood aloof from the engagement, with the purpose of plundering the baggage of the vanquished, whether Greeks or Carthaginians. But, as by the repulse of the latter, the action was transported to the vicinity of their camp, the Numidians changed their first resolution, and made their incursion on the remote depository of the victorious Greeks; hoping to escape with their booty, before any reinforcement could be sent for its recovery. The celerity of Agathocles partially defeated their expectations; several of them were intercepted and taken; but the greater part were saved from pursuit by the approach of night. Agathocles raised a trophy on the ground where he had conquered the Carthaginians, and divided the spoils taken from them among his soldiers, that they might the less regret their lost baggage⁷⁹. Among his prisoners he discovered many of the Greek deserters, whom he separated from the rest, and confined under a strong guard, until he should have leisure to decide their doom. But the Greeks rose in the night, massacred their guard, and took post on a neighbouring fastness, from whence they hoped to sell their lives dearly to the tyrant. Agathocles, who perceived the advantage of their situation, and whose affairs admitted not of delay, was forward in granting them a capitulation; which he basely and wickedly

His treatment of the Greek deserters.

⁷⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 38, 39.

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violated by inflicting on them immediate death. They amounted to near one thousand in number, of whom five hundred were Syracusans⁸⁰.

Agathocles successful negotiation with Ophellas.

With the perfidy and cruelty of a leader of banditti, Agathocles united the policy and foresight worthy of a great prince. In search of allies, whose resentment as well as strength might facilitate his conquest of Carthage, he had not forgot the ancient wars between that republic and the rival commonwealth of Cyrene. Thirteen years before the invasion of Africa by Agathocles, Cyrene, with its four allied cities of the Pentapolis, had submitted, as we have before seen, to the arms of the first Ptolemy, and the fleet of Egypt. Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, who, after the death of that mighty conqueror, followed the fortunes of his Egyptian successor, had been appointed by Ptolemy to govern the country which he had helped to subdue; and appears to have faithfully exercised the authority intrusted to him until the great war against Antigonus, in which Ptolemy acted so busy a part encouraged the Cyrenean viceroy to revolt from his master, and instead of a delegated jurisdiction, to assume independent sovereignty. The Cyreneans, worn out by the unrelenting seditions between the nobles and the populace, which had long and cruelly mangled their commonwealth, appear to have patiently submitted to this usurpation; which, in giving to them a king of their own, released them from the oppression of provincial government, and placed them on a foot of equality with those great nations that had been conquered and colonized by their Grecian brethren. But Ophellas, being a man of a light and vain character, of immoderate ambition, and very inadequate abilities, was not contented with this easy acquisition, but intoxicated with his first criminal success, grasped in his aspiring dreams as extensive an empire in Libya as Seleucus and Ptolemy, his ancient companions in arms, had respectively conquered in the East. Agathocles was apprised of his

⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.*

his character and his views, and sent to him Orthon a crafty Syracusan. Orthon told the king of Cyrene, that he had come to invite him to a confederacy against Carthage, which, as it was the great enemy to Agathocles' security and repose, was also the principal, and indeed the only obstacle, to his own aggrandizement. That Agathocles had been reluctantly compelled to invade Africa, in defence of Sicily and of his capital Syracuse, actually besieged by the enemy; but that his sole object in this expedition was to cause a seasonable diversion of the Carthaginian forces, to recal them to their own country, to break, and if possible, to destroy the power of a restless commonwealth, without the humiliation of which he never could expect to see the tranquillity of his own dominions. Ophellas warmly embraced an invitation so favourable to his prospects, he had married Euthydica, daughter of Miltiades an Athenian, who derived his name from the illustrious commander in the battle of Marathon. The splendour of this marriage and the respectful attention with which he had been careful to cultivate the declining age of that once great and proud, but now vain and frivolous city, gave him great credit with the Athenians. On the first proposal that he sent to them of joining his standard, many Athenians not only embarked, but earnestly persuaded their friends and connexions in neighbouring cities, to prefer the service of a foreign prince to that idleness, poverty, and disgrace to which they had been condemned in their native country, since the overwhelming preponderance of the Macedonian power⁸¹.

Encouraged by a reinforcement from the center of Greece, Ophellas began his march with ten thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, an hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers and combatants after the fashion of the heroic ages. This army, more formidable by its quality than its numbers, was accompanied by a caravan of nearly equal amount; consisting of merchants and mechanics, many of

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^{march}
from Cy-
rene to
Carthage.

⁸¹ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 40

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whom, as is usual with Nomades, carried with them their wives, children, and effects; which gave to this military march the appearance of a colonial migration. The travelers proceeded at the rate of nearly fifteen miles daily, till they arrived at Automolæ, the next station beyond the altars of the Philænian brothers, the desolate and dreary limit of Cyrenean and Carthaginian power. Above twice that time was requisite to carry them to the army of their allies through the inhospitable Syrtic regions, deficient in every necessary supply, except the lotus-tree above mentioned, on which alone the army subsisted many days⁸²; and infested with venemous reptiles, often resembling in colour the soil on which they crawled, and therefore the more difficultly avoided even by the cautious foot⁸³.

His reception and treatment by Agathocles.
Olymp. cxviii. 1.
B. C. 308.

Agathocles, for the conveniency of foraging, had moved northwards to the immediate territory of Carthage. There, he received his new allies with the warmest cordiality: all their wants were abundantly supplied: Ophellas was often entertained at his table; and a son of the Cyrenean was adopted by the Syracusan king. These demonstrations of kindness concealed the blackest perfidy. Yet, after the tyrant had gained the full confidence of his weak and unwary confederate, he disdained to take him off by the vulgar expedients of assassination or poison. Having easily persuaded the unsuspecting prince to send on distant foraging parties the best and most faithful portion of his troops, he immediately assembled his own soldiers; explained to them the danger to which both they and himself were exposed from those perfidious strangers; boldly arraigned Ophellas of covering under the semblance of friendship a design to destroy him, and commanded his men to follow him to the Cyrenean camp. The charge was sounded. Ophellas was sternly reproached with treason in presence of both armies. The fol-

⁸² Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 4. is found at the root of almost every plant of Absinthium. His observation relates to part of the desert of

⁸³ Diodor. l. xx. s. 41. Conf. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 19. The Barca, anciently belonging to the cerastes, or horned viper, he says, territory of Cyrene.

lower of Alexander, though thus circumvented, was not con-
 founded. He flew to arms, but speedily fell in the unequal
 conflict. His troops, whether they believed, or only affected
 to believe, the accusation against him, were easily prevailed
 on by the liberal promises of Agathocles to desist from un-
 availing hostility, and to enter into a profitable service. The
 parties which had been sent to a distance, finding themselves
 without a general or a paymaster, followed the example of
 their companions, preferring safety to revenge⁸⁴.

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Ophellas
slain, his
army joins
that of
Agatho-
cles.

While this extraordinary scene was acted in the territory, another not less memorable passed within the walls of Car-
 thage. That republic, which had subsisted five centuries⁸⁵ without a sedition and without a tyrant, was involved in the
 first of those evils, and nearly threatened with the second. Bomilcar's
 conspiracy against the
 Carthagi-
 nian gov-
 ernment.
 Its causes
 and issue.

Bomilcar, whose unexpected and apparently cowardly re-
 treat, in the first battle with Agathocles, has been already
 mentioned, acted that unworthy part, not through pusillani-
 mity, but perfidy. He wished the Greeks to get a firm foot-
 ing in the country, hoping, amidst the terrors of foreign
 invasion, to find a fit opportunity for effecting a revolution in
 the Carthaginian government, that might at once gratify his
 resentment and ambition; his resentment against the su-
 preme court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which had
 unjustly condemned his most respected kinsmen or friends;
 and his ambition of placing himself, by means of his army, at
 the head of the commonwealth. In this undertaking, equally
 flagitious and audacious, Bomilcar might endeavour to re-
 concile his conduct with his conscience, by reviewing the
 lamentable changes which had gradually taken place in the
 ancient and well balanced aristocracy of Carthage. These
 changes it is here necessary to describe, that we may under-
 stand the grounds and motives of Bomilcar's conspiracy, the
 best key to the subsequent history of his country. The chief
 magistrates of Carthage, called Suffetes, are compared by
 Aristotle with the kings of Sparta; which indicates a longer

⁸⁴ Diodor. l. xx. s. 42.

⁸⁵ Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

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duration of office than that of Athenian Archons, or Roman Consuls. The members of the Carthaginian senate were, as well as the Suffetes, appointed with a due regard to merit and wealth. When the Suffetes and senate were of the same mind, they exercised without control both the legislative and executive powers of government. When they differed in opinion, an assembly of the people was summoned to decide between them. The people, in their national assembly, also named the naval and military commanders; whose functions appear to have been seldom conjoined with any of the principal branches of civil power. The Suffetes, who alternately presided in the senate or assembly, are sometimes, by the Greek writers, called kings; and the same title is not unfrequently bestowed on those Carthaginian commanders, who were intrusted with the conduct of great armies and of long or important wars. The government of Carthage, however, was very remote from royalty; it was equally remote from democracy; it was strictly aristocratical: and the vigour of the aristocracy resided in two tribunals, which bear a near analogy to the council of ten, and the court of state inquisitors, in the late republic of Venice, naval and commercial like Carthage, and once not less jealous of its constitution. To the *Pentarchy*, or council of five, and the *Centumvirate* or council of a hundred and four, the lives, and fortunes, and honours, of every individual in the community were subjected without appeal. The pentarchy elected its own members, and also filled up the vacancies that happened in the centumvirate. These two councils, thus permanent and immortal, not only formed the supreme judicature in all causes public and private, civil and criminal, but exercised a censorial and inquisitorial authority, for the purpose of watching over the safety of the government, and anticipating public delinquency. In the earlier and purer times of the commonwealth, these exorbitant powers should appear to have been seldom very shamefully abused. But the diffusion of wealth and luxury ingendered turbulence in the people, and

faction among the great. The principal offices, both civil and military, became scandalously venal. Rapacity is the inseparable companion of bribery; and a people that may be bought, are not far removed from a people that may be enslaved. To prevent or punish these growing evils gave new activity to the pentarchy and centumvirate; which, in their endeavours to repress the criminality of others, became themselves highly criminal; unjust judges, false accusers, and malignant inquisitors; raging with an excess of cruelty against offences merely suspected on the report of infamous spies; and punishing with equal severity the virtues which they envied, and the abilities which they feared⁸⁶.

Bomilcar, instead of falling their victim, had determined to become both their judge and executioner. One part of his army, in which he had little confidence, was sent into Numidia, where it had been dispersed by Agathocles; another part of it watched the motions of that prince, who was then at no great distance from Carthage, and so wholly intent on the execution of his treacherous design against Ophellas, that he gave not any disturbance to the enemy. The remainder of his troops Bomilcar assembled in Neapolis, a place nearly contiguous to Carthage, and considered as a suburb of that capital. They amounted to no more than five hundred citizens and four thousand mercenaries, in whom he could entirely confide. With this inconsiderable force, he ventured to enter Carthage, carrying with him such terror and havoc that the citizens never doubted that their gates had been betrayed to the Greeks. He advanced without resistance to the great market-place, with a view to destroy the tribunals with their obnoxious magistrates, and probably in the hope that the people would rise in his favour. But the people, who had beheld him butcher many unarmed citizens, mounted to the flat roofs of the lofty edifices which surrounded the market-place, and directed showers of darts on the conspirators.

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Bomilcar's
punish-
ment.

⁸⁶ Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 46.

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Bomilcar led off his adherents towards Neapolis; and in retreating through narrow streets, whose inhabitants readily imitated the example of the Forum, only increased the evil which he hoped to avoid. He was obliged to shelter his men from the thickening volleys of missile weapons in a neighbouring tower. Thither the magistrates sent messengers, promising pardon to all concerned, on condition of an immediate surrender; for having a public enemy at the gates, it seemed of the utmost importance to quell the sedition speedily. The capitulation was ratified by oaths, which were violated only in the person of Bomilcar. He was doomed to the fatal cross; where he died inveighing, as from a lofty tribunal, against the crimes and cruelties of his judges⁸⁷.

Agathocles
takes
Utica.
Olymp.
cxviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

Had Agathocles been apprised of the treason meditated by Bomilcar, he might doubtless have turned it to his own advantage; and perhaps, through this rotten part of the state, have made himself master of Carthage. But the tyrant of Syracuse was as little informed of the conspiracy of Bomilcar against his country, as Bomilcar was acquainted with the conspiracy of Agathocles against Ophellas; and each was so wholly engrossed with his own scheme of villany, that neither had time to bestow the smallest attention on the proceedings of his antagonist. Agathocles endeavoured to compensate for the opportunity thus lost of assaulting the capital with a good prospect of success, by employing the reinforcement just acquired at the price of so much wickedness, in besieging the neighbouring towns of Utica and Hippo, the former situate fifteen miles, the latter above double that distance to the west of Carthage. He took both by storm: and his conquest was attended by the usual concomitants of pillage and slaughter. In the siege of Utica, the eldest Phœnician colony on that coast⁸⁸, and long considered as the ally rather than the subject of Carthage, Agathocles employed an expedient truly worthy of his savage temper, hardened by inveterate

⁸⁷ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 44.

⁸⁸ Aristot. de Mirabil.

habits of refined cruelty. He had surprised in their country-houses three hundred Uticans, belonging to the richest and noblest families. They were suspended alive to the machines, armed with catapults, which he advanced against the walls; and thus exposed in the front of the battle, as butts to the missile weapons of the besieged, who could not resist the enemy's engines without piercing the bodies of their most respected friends. The interest of the public defence was preferred to private affection: the Uticans silenced the cries of nature, but the sacrifice did not avail them⁸⁹.

The storm of Hippo soon followed. That place is called by different names⁹⁰, whose sameness of signification is confirmed by the circumstance of a deep and broad lake, by which the town is defended on the south. On the north it is open to a bay, opposite to that of Utica. Agathocles entered the place after defeating the enemy's galleys at sea, and their small craft on the lake⁹¹. He was now master of all the maritime towns in those parts, except Carthage, and of all the inland country, except some districts of the perfidious Nomades, whose alliance was nearly as dangerous as their hostility. Having been apprised that the eastern successors of Alexander had recently declared themselves kings, he was unwilling to remain inferior in name, to those whom he equalled in glory of exploits, and extent of conquest. He therefore called himself king of Africa, but instead of assuming the diadem, still wore a priestly crown to conceal his baldness⁹².

The tyrant was now at the summit of his fortune; and if his savage and sanguinary temper had admitted the cooperation of friends qualified to second his exertions, he might have been the Alexander of Africa. The dangerous state of his affairs in Sicily, of which he was at this time apprised, engaged him to sail thither in person, with some open vessels hastily constructed, and with only two thousand soldiers.

⁸⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

⁹¹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 55.

⁹⁰ Hippo-acra, Diarrhytus, Zarytus.

⁹² Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

Agathocles' voyage to Syracuse, and return to Africa—Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

CHAP. IX. His boldness was successful: he entered the harbour of Selinus, that of Syracuse being still blocked up by the Carthaginians, while the cause of public freedom, and Sicilian independence made a progress most alarming to the tyrant in all parts of the island. But the presence of one man was soon marked by an important change of affairs. At the moment of his arrival, a detachment from his garrison of Syracuse defeated Zenodicus, the general of the Agrigentine confederacy. Agathocles broke that confederacy itself; made signal examples of Apollonia and other revolted cities; and by rapid marches from one side of the island to the other, again diffused through the whole of it, the terror of his arms⁹³. Deinocrates, indeed, still kept the field, and before Agathocles had time to reduce that leader of exiles, he was recalled to Africa by a state of affairs, not less critical than that which had brought him to Sicily; his son Archagathus having shown himself equally unqualified for supplying his place in the former, as his brother Antander had proved in the latter.

Eumachus,
Agathocles' lieutenant,
visits inland
Africa.

Soon after the departure of Agathocles, Archagathus detached from the forces in Tunes and its neighbourhood, eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, into the more remote parts of Numidia. The Carthaginians, previously sent to that quarter, appear to have fled on all sides before this formidable army. Eumachus, its commander, penetrated unknown regions, visited and conquered unknown cities, to some of which the Greeks gave names in their own language, expressive of the local peculiarities by which they were distinguished. One they called Phelline, from its thick groves of shadowy cork trees. The adjoining district (whose inhabitants were black as Ethiopians) they called Asphodelus, from the exuberant and beautiful daffodils that decked its fields⁹⁴: three neighbouring towns they called Pithecussæ, because in these places, apes were held in the same honour with which dogs are venerated in Egypt. In Pithecussæ

⁹³ Diodor. l. xx. s. 56.

⁹⁴ Ibid. s. 59.

apes lived in the same houses with men, and fed in the same apartments; children were here named after apes, as in Greece after the gods: to kill an ape was a capital offence; in a word, these animals were solemnly worshipped as divinities; and "to have drunk the blood of an ape," was proverbially said of those who died by violence unrevenged, intimating, that for some enormous but secret guilt, they had been punished by this most dreadful calamity⁹⁵. In the neighbourhood of this monkey land, the soldiers of Eumachus observed a lofty mountain, twenty miles long, and so much infested with innumerable wild cats, that it was said no-kind of birds ever built their nests either on its trees or in its dens⁹⁶. Such are the unimportant circumstances preserved concerning countries most worthy of curiosity, by a few ignorant soldiers, as incapable of observation as they were rapacious of plunder.

This rapacity proved the ruin of the expedition. The Carthaginians, during the absence of Agathocles, made a new and vigorous effort for retrieving their affairs. The capital though loosely besieged, had received many inhabitants from the country, who came to enjoy the protection of its walls. Thirty thousand of these strangers, with the more idle and inactive part of the citizens, were armed in the public defence; and a considerable force under Himilco marched into Numidia. This detachment appears to have been joined by many Numidian horsemen, whose native fury was exasperated by resentment against the Greek invaders. The Numidians encountered the troops under Eumachus loaded with booty; and according to their custom engaged them in a running fight, during which, they were unexpectedly attacked by Himilco,

Complicated defeat
of the
Greeks.

⁹⁵ Diodor. l. xx, s. 58. "The large breed of Indian apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the Hindus; and fed with devotion by the Brachmans, who seem in two or three places on the banks of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment for the support of them. They

live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle, and (I speak as an eye witness) appear to have some kind of order in their little sylvan policy!" Sir W. Jones' Discourse on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

⁹⁶ Id. *ibid*.

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who had lain concealed in a neighbouring village, and defeated with such slaughter, that no more than forty horsemen and thirty of the infantry escaped from the battle. Nearly about the same time, another body of Greeks was cut off by Hannó, in the inland part of the Libyphœnician territory. Archagathus was still master of the cities on the seacoast, near Tunes; but the disasters that had befallen his detachments, totally changed the disposition of his allies. The great body of Libyphœnician peasants were in arms. The Numidians were prepared to destroy the advanced parties, and to intercept the convoys of the Greeks. Their main army was pressed in flank and rear by the victorious Himilco and Hanno; who seized the usual passes leading into the country; while their colleague, Adherbal, formed a camp four miles from Tunes, and, with the assistance of the revolted seaports, excluded the Greeks from the coast⁹⁷.

Agathocles' stratagem by which he defeats the Carthaginian fleet before Syracuse.

Agathocles was duly apprised of the disastrous condition of his army. Having equipped seventeen ships of war in the harbour of Syracuse, he watched the opportunity of escaping through a Carthaginian fleet of thirty sail in the road, which he effected with much brilliancy of success. The Tuscans, ancient rivals of the Carthaginians for the commerce of the western parts of the Mediterranean, were naturally the allies of Syracuse, with which they had long carried on an advantageous traffic. Eighteen of their vessels hovered at a distance on the Syracusan coast, and availed themselves of a dark night to get into the harbour unperceived by the enemy. This fortunate incident Agathocles improved with his usual dexterity. He desired the Tuscans to keep their concealed station, until his own vessels sailed forth and were pursued by the Carthaginians. The Tuscans, according to this arrangement, then put to sea. Agathocles turned the beaks of his galleys on the pursuers. The Carthaginians, thus surprised between a double assault, were totally defeated with the loss of five ships of war, together with their whole crews. The

⁹⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 59, 60.

Carthaginian admiral stabbed himself when his ship was taken; a premature act of despair, since a smart breeze swelling the main top-sail, enabled the vessel to make her escape⁹⁸. CHAP.
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This unexpected victory opened the sea to Syracuse, which was thenceforth plentifully supplied with provisions; and enabled Agathocles to pursue without danger his navigation to Carthage. But a precaution, usual with him on such occasions, remained to be taken before he set sail. Five hundred obnoxious Syracusans were assembled on pretence of a public entertainment, and massacred by order of the tyrant, as persons most likely to disturb the government during his absence, and to cooperate with Deinocrates. His precaution before sailing to Carthage.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Agathocles saw that the melancholy advices from that quarter were not exaggerations. The immediate safety of his army required a battle. This, however, the enemy, who had seized all the most advantageous passes communicating with the adjacent country, was studious to avoid. The strength of Agathocles was still considerable. Besides his garrisons in Tunes and several other towns, which had not yet ventured to rebel, he had six thousand Greeks in his camp; and nearly an equal number of Italians, with whose country he had carefully maintained a correspondence ever since his first campaigns in Magna Græcia. His African troops were more numerous than both collectively: ten thousand foot, six thousand chariots of war, and fifteen hundred cavalry. At the head of this army, cooped up and impatient, and the Africans strongly inclined to revolt, he employed all his usual artifices for drawing the Carthaginians from their camp; and eagerly seized the first opportunity which they afforded him, of coming to an engagement, though the ground was highly unfavourable. The Greeks under his immediate command behaved bravely. But after his Africans and mercenaries gave way, the Greeks were borne down by the weight of numbers. In the pursuit, the Defeated there.

⁹⁸ Diodor. l. xx. s. 61.

CHAP. IX. Carthaginians spared the Africans, but gave no quarter to the Greeks and Italians, who were easily known by their armour and appearance, and of whom, before they reached their camp, about three thousand fell⁹⁹. A few prisoners indeed were made, but not as an exception to general orders, since they were only saved for a purpose far more horrid than all the carnage of battle.

Conflagra-
tion of the
Carthagini-
an camp.

They consisted of the tallest and handsomest of the Greeks, who were reserved as a burnt offering for Moloch or Saturn, whose portable house, or tabernacle, diffused a thick superstitious gloom in the midst of the Carthaginian camp, nearly contiguous to the general's tent. While the flames of this abominable rite mounted on high, a brisk wind brought them in contact first with the tabernacle of the god, and next with the pavilion of the commander. As the tents of the Carthaginians were made of mats or dried reeds, the whole camp was speedily in a blaze. The Carthaginians fled on all sides with their armour and most precious effects; many perished in the flames.

Defection
in the
camp of the
Greeks—
its strange
conse-
quences.

This disaster, which befel the barbarians in the first watch of the night, was, by an extraordinary coincidence, greatly aggravated by the defection, which at the same time happened in the camp of the Greeks. Five thousand Africans had begun, with the first darkness of night, to fly from the discomfited Agathocles to their victorious countrymen. Their approach was discovered by the Carthaginian videttes or scouts, quickly communicated to the army now irregularly collected, and pursuing its hasty march towards Carthage. The Barbarians never doubted that the Greeks, having beheld the conflagration of their tents, had hastened to avail themselves of the consequent disorder. A sudden terror seized them. Darkness increased the confusion: and in their scattered flight over a rough and intricate country, swelled by craggy rocks, and interrupted by walls and hedges, different parties mistook each other for enemies, and forced their opposite ways by adverse arms. Many rushed headlong over precipices; not less than five thousand

⁹⁹ Diodor. l. xx. § 64, 65.

are said to have fallen victims to this blind panic: and the remainder who reached Carthage, entered the gates in wild trepidation, as if they had been closely pursued by the enemy. The African deserters, meanwhile, who had occasioned all this terror, no sooner perceived the Carthaginian camp on fire, than they changed their first resolution, and began to return back under similar apprehensions to those which they inspired. The Greeks, who had not yet been apprised of their desertion, were informed of the movement of a great body of men in their own neighbourhood. They beheld the distant conflagration; the tumultuary cries of the Carthaginians had distinctly reached their ears: it immediately occurred to them that the barbarians, intoxicated with their recent victory, had advanced against them with their whole forces, after setting fire by way of bravado to their own tents. Agathocles ordered his soldiers to arm. They rushed tumultuously from the camp, and the nearer view of the nocturnal conflagration increasing the general alarm, convinced them that their only resource was in immediate flight. One division of them encountered the African deserters, to the mutual consternation and with great destruction of both parties. Many scattering themselves at a distance on all sides of the camp, remained in lurking places the whole night long; and the return of light only showed to the Greeks, as well as to the Carthaginians, how shamefully both of them had been deluded by the empty terrors of war¹⁰⁰.

The morning however, rose with very different prospects to the adverse armies. The Carthaginian forces were still entire, and continually augmenting by the daily return to duty of their revolted allies or rebellious subjects. The Greeks on the other hand, being totally deserted by their African auxiliaries, and having lost four thousand men in the nocturnal tumult, and three thousand in the preceding battle, were reduced to a mere handful of soldiers in a hostile

Termination of Agathocles' war in Africa and his return to Sicily. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

¹⁰⁰ Diodor. l. xx. s. 67.

CHAP. country, at once dispirited and mutinous, fearing the enemy,
IX. and angry with their general. Under such a reverse of fortune, Agathocles would readily have submitted to any terms of accommodation; but he suspected that the Carthaginians would be contented with nothing less than his absolute destruction; that this illustrious vengeance might for ever repel future invasion from the Carthaginian shores. The movements of the tyrant's mind were rapid and decisive. He determined to embark secretly for Sicily with his younger son Heracleides, leaving Archagathus and his army to their fate. Archagathus discovered this design, and communicated it to the officers; the officers declared it to their troops; a mutiny ensued: Agathocles was seized and bound: but the sight of their general in bonds could not be endured by the soldiers: they relented and released him: whereas he anxious only for his own escape from the Carthaginians, employed the first moment of liberty to embark in a small passage boat, (though it was winter), with a few sailors for Sicily. The army, having discovered his flight, put his sons to death, and chose new commanders who came to a capitulation on the following terms: that the towns yet possessed by the Greeks, should be surrendered on the payment of three hundred talents: that as many of the officers and soldiers as judged proper, should enter into the Carthaginian service, and be entitled to pay and promotion according to their rank and the rules established in the army: and that those who did not think fit to remain in Africa, should be sent to Sicily, and have habitations assigned to them at Solois; a place formerly mentioned as one of the principal Carthaginian settlements in the island. These conditions, though highly acceptable to the camp, were rejected by the Grecian garrisons which still confided in the extraordinary resources of Agathocles. Their towns were stormed: the commanders crucified; and the soldiers, disgraced by fetters, were condemned to repair the effect of their own ravages, and to cultivate with in-

cessant toil the lands which during four years of war they had continued to desolate¹⁰¹. Thus ended the expedition of Agathocles into Africa, which once promised to be as important in its consequences, as it certainly is memorable in its incidents.

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The return of Agathocles to Sicily was marked by such outrages as might be expected from the cruelty of a tyrant exasperated by misfortune. He landed near the western extremity of the island by the shortest voyage from Africa: and immediately sent orders to Syracuse, that a band of his faithful mercenaries should repair to his standard. They joined him near Egesta, a city at that time in alliance with Syracuse, containing ten thousand families and many of them opulent. Agathocles demanded their money. The Egestians hesitated to comply with this requisition. The tyrant's impatience brooked not delay. He massacred the largest portion of the citizens, and exacted from the remainder their hidden treasures, by tortures that in variety of contrivance are said to have rivaled the fabulous pains of Tartarus. To escape his execrable machinations many laid violent hands on themselves, and Egesta in one miserable day was completely desolated by the murder of its men and women, and by a sale of the boys and girls to the barbarous Brutii. A youth of singular beauty, named Mænon, was alone reserved for the domestic servitude of Agathocles. Mænon survived to avenge, by an action well becoming the favourite of a tyrant, both the destruction of his countrymen and his own disgrace. The walls and houses, however, still remained; and Egesta, under the protection of Agathocles and its new name Dicæopolis¹⁰², became a receptacle for banditti and deserters¹⁰³, and a fertile seminary of mercenary assassins, naturally abounding in a country torn to pieces by foreign and domestic wars, and by all those crimes and calamities which usually followed in their train.

Agathocles' cruelties in Egesta.

¹⁰¹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 68. & 69.

¹⁰³ Diodor. l. xx. s. 71.

¹⁰² The city of justice.

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And in Sy-
racuse.

Syracuse, which had furnished instruments of vengeance against Egesta, experienced shortly afterwards the sad effects of the tyrant's fury. He was no sooner apprised of the murder of his two sons by his revolted army in Africa, than he sent orders to his brother Antander to destroy, without exception, the whole kindred of the rebels. The command was strictly executed; in some instances four generations of the same family were cut off in the same hour; and we may indulge the pathetic exaggerations of a Sicilian, in describing the massacre as so dreadful that when the dead bodies were thrown into the sea, for none ventured to acknowledge and bury them, the waters for a considerable distance from the shore were dyed red with blood¹⁰⁴. These monstrous cruelties which cried to heaven for vengeance, were punished in the first instance by the revolt of Pasiphilus, the tyrant's general; to whom, while his own brother Antander held the government of Syracuse, he trusted the command of Gela, and other important though subordinate cities. The defection of Pasiphilus, however, was occasioned not by his detestation of his master's crimes, but by an ill founded contempt of his power. The tyrant, indeed, had lost an army in Africa: Deinocrates still bade him defiance in Sicily; and by his recent massacres, he had greatly diminished his own strength. Pasiphilus hoped by joining Deinocrates to give a decided preponderancy to the cause of public freedom and Sicilian independency, which that great master of artifice had so long and so ably supported. The tyrant acted as if he had felt this stroke with peculiar sensibility, and had believed that the defection of his lieutenant would prove the ruin of his affairs. He negotiated at once with Deinocrates and the Carthaginians. To the former he offered to abdicate the government of Syracuse, and to restore freedom to the citizens, and the exiles to their country. Tired of grandeur, he desired nothing but safety; for which purpose he required for his residence the two fortresses of Thermæ and Cephalædion; the

His treaty
with the
Carthagi-
nians.
Olymp.
cxviii. 4. B.
C. 305.

¹⁰⁴Diodor. l. xx. s. 72.

former deriving its name from the hot baths; the latter from its situation at the top of a lofty and almost inaccessible promontory: and both of them standing near the middle of the northern coast. To the Carthaginians he offered to guarantee that western division of the island which had formerly belonged to them, extending from the extreme limit of Lilybæum to Himera on the northern, and Heraclæa on the southern, shore. The Carthaginians, who earnestly wished to extend their footing in Sicily, sacrificed their resentment to their interest; and paid to the tyrant, as the price of his alliance, three hundred talents and two hundred thousand bushels of corn¹⁰⁵.

In the propositions made to Deinocrates, it is not easy to determine whether the tyrant was sincere. His monstrous crimes naturally tormented him with apprehension of those punishments which his fancy began to anticipate on the first strokes of his adversity. But it is more probable that, knowing the character of the man with whom he had to negotiate, he only sought for the occasion of exposing him in his true light to the Sicilians. Deinocrates rejected his humble request, and disdained his advantageous offers. That Syracusan exile was at the head of an army of twenty-eight thousand men, had many rich cities at his devotion, and enjoyed, under the name of a fugitive, the authority of a king. It was not his intention, therefore, to lay down his power, and to restore either independence to the Sicilian cities, or democracy to Syracuse: under which form of government he must have mingled with the crowd, and have thenceforth held his life and every thing dear to him, at the will of turbulent demagogues and a capricious multitude. He therefore rejected all terms of accommodation with the tyrant, a circumstance which the latter failed not to make known over the island, complaining that Deinocrates' ambition and obstinacy hindered the Sicilians from returning to their respective cities, and all those cities from being declared free and independent¹⁰⁶.

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¹⁰⁵ Diodor. l. xx. s. 78.

¹⁰⁶ Id. *ibid.*

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whom he
defeats at
Forgium.
Olymp.
cxviii. 4.
B. C. 305.

This remonstrance was not ineffectual. The tyrant determined to venture a battle with five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, against an army four times as numerous. The scene of the action was near Forgium, an inland and now unknown mountain, but anciently remarkable as the haunt of vultures; and from which the Sicilian vultures derived their specific name. The battle was scarcely begun when above two thousand of Deinocrates' troops passed over to the side of Agathocles. This defection was followed by distrust and dismay in the whole army of allied Sicilians. They fled in scattered disorder. The tyrant, after a short pursuit, ordered the slaughter to cease, and proclamation to be made that the fugitives might return to their several homes. Many accepted this permission; others spread themselves over the country in the night; the cavalry escaped to the neighbouring but now unknown fortress of Ambicæ; and a body of seven thousand infantry posted themselves on a strong eminence, but capitulated on promise of safety, and descended from their fortress. Their false confidence was rewarded by an immediate and universal massacre. After this enormous perfidy, Agathocles received the remainder of the fugitives under his protection and made peace with Deinocrates; who, having hitherto fought against him for more than a dozen years, became from this time forward his coadjutor and confident. Deinocrates was a man of the same stamp with himself; they thoroughly knew each other; the tyrant had saved his life in the first massacre at Syracuse; and the bond of their renewed friendship was the assassination of the too credulous Pasiphilus, whom Deinocrates, his late partner in arms, caught and murdered with his own hand at Gela¹⁰⁷. Still, however, it is wonderful that two such monsters should have thenceforth continued mutually faithful. There must have been much vigilance on one side, and great patience on the other. The one, who was old, needed an active instrument; and the other, who was young, expected to inherit the

¹⁰⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 90.

power which he had helped to establish. In the space of two years all the cities in the island, except those situate within the jurisdiction of Carthage, were subjected to the tyrant of Syracuse, chiefly by the arms or artifices of Deinocrates.

Agathocles respected his treaty with the Carthaginians for the present, only that he might infringe it in due time the more boldly. Among the concluding transactions of his reign, the principal bear a reference to this great design; a new invasion of Africa and the recovery of the laurels of his youth. With this view we find him strenuously employed in amassing treasure, collecting mercenaries, and equipping a powerful fleet. In his extensive plan of pillage no corner however obscure was overlooked, no place however sacred was unviolated. The superstition of antiquity dwells with complacency on his impious invasion of the Liparean isles, because of the memorable vengeance successively inflicted on him by Eolus and Vulcan ¹⁰⁸ for plundering their favourite domain. These islands derived their name from Lipara the largest, eight miles in length and twenty in circuit, and early planted by a Dorian colony from Cnidus ¹⁰⁹. They are seven ¹¹⁰ in number, situate between the distance of fifteen and forty-five miles from the northern coast of Sicily. Two of them still continue to emit fire, Vulcania and Strongylè; but they were all formerly volcanic, holding, as it was supposed, a secret commerce with Ætna, whose flames they alternately borrowed and supplied. Agathocles appeared before them with a fleet, exacting fifty talents for their ransom, and when the money fell short, despoiled their sacred treasures of the dedications stamped with the awful names of Eolus and Vulcan. The god of the winds punished him by a storm which sunk eleven of his ships; and Vulcan, as we

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Agathocles' subsequent transactions. Olymp. cxix. 1. cxxii. 4. B. C. 304. 289.

The Liparean isles.

Their violation by Agathocles.

¹⁰⁸ Diodor. l. xx. s. 101.

¹⁰⁹ Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. Τηδε μετ' Αιολυ εισι περιδρομοι εν ελι νησι, &c. v. 461.

¹¹⁰ Authors differ on this sub

ject, but the number seven is assigned by Aristotle, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Dionysius Periegetes.

CHAP. shall see presently, only reserved his ire, ultimately to inflict
IX. a more dreadful vengeance.

Other pre-
datory ex-
peditions.
Olymp.
cxx. 2.
B. C. 299.

With the same predatory views, the tyrant undertook different expeditions to the continent of Magna Græcia. In one of these, he conquered and garrisoned the rich commercial city of Crotona; and in another he dispossessed the Brutii of the maritime town Hipponium, where he built a dock or arsenal. That no gleanings of gain might be lost, he lent vessels to the pirates who infested those coasts, and was strict in exacting his full share of their booty ¹¹¹.

His trans-
actions
with Alex-
ander's
successors.

Yet these minute attentions did not narrow the mind of the tyrant, or render him careless of the great transactions of the times. He maintained a correspondence with Alexander's successors, and connected himself with several of them by treaties and intermarriages. When the fortune of Antigonus was predominant, he abetted the measures of that prince against Cassander and his allies, and burned the whole of a Macedonian fleet which besieged Corcyra, and was on the point of taking that island ¹¹². His daughter Lanassa was married successively to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, and to Pyrrhus of Epirus. To the former of these princes, at that time master of Macedon, he sent his favourite son, who bore the same name with his father. Demetrius received the youth with kind and honourable courtesy, invested him, after the eastern fashion which he affected, with a royal garment; and under show of respect and of consolidating friendship with his father, sent him back loaded with presents, and accompanied by one of his own creatures and flatterers Oxythemis; whose real errand, however, was to spy out the land, and to survey the actual state of Sicily. The report must have conveyed a magnificent idea of the tyrant's power; for Agathocles, never losing sight of his designs against Carthage, had collected a great body of mercenaries, both Greeks and Italians, whose infamous history under their common name of Mamertines, will presently be related; and, besides other naval prepa-

¹¹¹ Diodor. *ibid*.

¹¹² Id. *Eclog.* l. xxi. p. 491.

rations, had equipped two hundred galleys of a large size, with four and six banks of oars ¹¹³.

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But, before this mighty armament was ready to set sail, the tyrant died a death, suitable indeed to his life, if any death could have expiated his execrable and innumerable crimes. He had a grandson named Archagathus, after his father who perished in Africa. This youth did not degenerate from his ancestors, being endowed with a daring courage and consummate craft, submissive ministers to an ambition as unprincipled as it was boundless. He now commanded an army encamped in the northern district of mount Ætna. The tyrant, in availing himself of his services, gradually discovered his character, and determined to remove him from command. As he himself was now in his seventy-second year, he had fixed the hopes of perpetuating his power on his son and namesake Agathocles, whom he had recommended to the Syracusans as heir to his kingdom. He now sent him to the army, furnished with an order to receive the command from Archagathus. The latter feigned willingly to resign; sailed to one of the Liparean isles to perform a promised sacrifice; invited his uncle and successor to partake of the entertainments which usually accompanied that solemnity; and seized a favourable moment for plunging a dagger into his breast. The body of the younger Agathocles was thrown into the sea, and carried by the waves to the coast of Sicily, where it was recognised and sent to his father at Syracuse ¹¹⁴.

His grand-
son Arch-
gathus.

But the tyrant was by this time incapable of punishing the assassin. Archagathus, while he assumed to himself the part of murdering his uncle, had committed that of destroying his grandfather to Mænon of Egesta, who long watched for an opportunity of avenging on the tyrant his own disgrace and the ruin of his country. The tyrant regularly after meals picked his teeth with a quill; this toothpick was usually supplied by his favourite Mænon, and on the present occasion was one so skilfully impoisoned, that the infection, after

Death of
Agatho-
cles.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 4.
B.C. 289.

¹¹³ Diodor. *ibid*.

¹¹⁴ *Id. ibid*.

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destroying his gums with excruciating torture, began in a few days to seize his vitals. While yet capable of speech, he summoned an assembly of the Syracusans, and arraigned the impiety of Archagathus, who had ruined both himself and his hopes; himself by poison, his appointed successor by assassination. He conjured his subjects to punish the parricide, and to reestablish and defend against him their hereditary democracy. Thus saying, he was carried from the tribunal and soon afterwards conveyed to the funeral pile, speechless yet breathing; a dire atonement, (as history blushes not to relate), to Vulcan for his plundered temple. He lived seventy-two years, and reigned twenty-eight. His life was written by Timæus and Callias, both of them Sicilians: his brother Antander, also an historian, treated the same subject ¹¹⁵; a dreadful subject for the pen of a brother!

His wife
Theoxena.

When the tyrant was no more, his instruments remained; fleets, armies, arsenals, and treasuries. Immediately before his death, part, indeed, of his ill-gotten wealth had been consigned to Theoxena ¹¹⁶, the wife of his old age, and daughter to Magas, who, upon the destruction of the usurper Ophellas, had been intrusted by Ptolemy Soter with the viceroyalty of Cyrene. Magas owed this appointment not to personal merit, but to the influence of his mother Berenice, a Macedonian widow, who, being raised to the bed of Ptolemy, was found worthy to share his throne. Her high fortune, Berenice bore with the mildest dignity. Her bounty disarmed envy; she was the idol of the people, and an oracle with the prince; so that Magas, her son by a former and obscure marriage, found no difficulty in obtaining the highest dignity, that his father-in-law Ptolemy could confer. To this Magas, Theoxena returned with her children by Agathocles, who, had they remained in Syracuse after the death of that tyrant, would have been exposed to the rage of the multitude, or the more relentless cruelty of their kinsman Archagathus.

¹¹⁵ Diodor. *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Justin, l. xxiii. c. 2.

Yet Archagathus himself did not long enjoy the fruits of his parricide. He was the victim of his accomplice Mænon; and the assassin assumed his power as commander of the mercenaries. The Syracusans shut their gates against the usurper; reestablished their democracy; and chose Hicetas, a popular citizen, for their general. A war ensued between the new republic and the veteran hirelings of Agathocles; and the latter, being abetted by the Carthaginians, compelled the Syracusans to admit them within their city, and to acknowledge them as sharers in its rights. The new citizens, however, were viewed with extreme jealousy by the old; and as they were much inferior in point of numbers, they were generally foiled in their competitions for employments and honours. Indignant at this treatment, they complained, threatened, and set themselves in readiness to take arms. Their sedition was with difficulty repressed by the seasonable interference of a few wise and equitable men, connected indeed in party with their adversaries, but whose impartiality had gained their confidence; and a compromise in the form of a regular treaty was made with them, in which it was stipulated that, upon receiving the full value of all their possessions, they should quit Syracuse and its dependencies ¹¹⁷.

Under the veil of this plausible transaction, many of the unprincipled soldiers concerted a design of complicated and enormous wickedness. The greatest part of them belonged to Campania, the most infamous district in Italy, and in their frequent journeys between their native country and southern Sicily, had often cast covetous eyes on the rich territory of Messene abounding with whatever could tempt their rapacity or allure their voluptuousness. Upon leaving Syracuse in terms of their agreement, they proceeded towards the Sicilian frith, with the apparent design of crossing the narrow ¹¹⁸ strait from Messene to Rhegium. At the former place, they were received kindly and treated generously, which unsuspecting bounty they repaid by an act of cruel perfidy,

CHAP.
XI.History of
Sicily to
the inva-
sion of
Pyrrhus.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 4.
cxxxv. 4. B.
C. 289.—
277.Agatho-
cles' mer-
cenaries
under the
name of
Mamer-
tines—
usurp
Messene.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 284.¹¹⁷ Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13. narrowest part will be found to mea-¹¹⁸ By a comparison of the best authorities ancient and modern the sure a mile and a half, English.

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decisively bold, and memorably successful. With one consent, they murdered their hosts and usurped their possessions¹¹⁹. By this sudden stroke, the last branch of a people perished, whose long and complicated sufferings I had occasion in a former work to commemorate. Not a male beyond the age of puberty was left in the city or territory, which being thus fiercely occupied, were with equal fierceness maintained by a mixed band of ruffians, who, from the prevalence of Campanians among them, assumed the name of Mamertines after Mars, the god of war, called Mamers in the provincial dialect of Campania¹²⁰.

Wretched
state of
Sicily from
this period
to the in-
vasion of
Pyrrhus.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.
cxxxv. 4. B.
C. 284—
277.

For the space of seven years which elapsed from this horrid transaction to the arrival of the renowned Pyrrhus in Sicily, to assert his claims there as heir to Agathocles, the Mamertines, abetted by the Carthaginians, set their Greek neighbours at defiance, and exercised a sort of predatory dominion over the northern coasts of Sicily. As *their* ascendancy prevailed, the Syracusans sunk in the scale. The ancient subjects of Syracuse, who had trembled at the name of Agathocles, threw off the yoke of the newly established democracy. Fraud or violence prevailed in every city; Phintias and Tyndarion domineered respectively in Agrigentum and Tauromenium; and during the seven years just mentioned, Sicily was variously deformed by sedition, anarchy, the rashness of demagogues, the jealousy of tyrants, the merciless exactions of mercenaries, and finally by a cruel invasion from Carthage; which republic, amidst unceasing animosities of the Greeks, once more aspired to grasp the whole island¹²¹. But from the transactions of this portion of European Greece, which will in due time be resumed, I return, in the natural course of my work, to the history of the second generation of Greek kings in Asia and Africa.

¹¹⁹ Polybius, l. i. c. 7:

¹²¹ Diodor. Eclog. l. xxii. s. 2—

¹²⁰ Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13. 11. Conf. Plutarch in Pyrrho.
cum Not. Wesseling.

CHAPTER X.

Disorders on the Death of Seleucus. New Kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus. Gauls prepare their Irruption. Transactions preceding that Event: I. in the Kingdom of the Greeks, or Syria; II. in Egypt; III. in Macedon; IV. in Thrace; V. in Greece. Gauls, their Migrations. Arts and Manners. Assail Macedon, and slay Keraunus. Invade Greece. Marvellously defeated at Delphi. More probable Account of their Catastrophe. Gallic Kingdom of Tulè. Their ambulatory Dominion in Lesser Asia. They establish themselves in New Gaul, or Galatia. Their Pursuits in that Country, and improved Manners.

FORTY one years had elapsed from the death of Alexander, when Seleucus, the last survivor among his generals, followed him to the grave. During this memorable period, the finest countries of Asia remained a spoil to the Macedonian captains, whose ambitious struggles with each other were unobstructed either by domestic rebellion, or by foreign invasion. But upon the death of Seleucus, as if the energy, infused by Alexander, had passed away with his immediate successors, the empire was assailed at once in its center, and on its frontiers. Part of the controlling army had marched with Antiochus into the East; another part had crossed the Hellespont, into Macedon. Under these circumstances, several nations of Lesser Asia assumed arms and independence; particularly the inhabitants of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia; countries which contained an admixture of European blood, and which had subsisted under the Persians as hereditary satrapies¹. Pergamus had a different

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X.Disorders
on the
death of
Seleucus.
Olymp. .
cxxxvi.
B. C. 280.The new
kingdoms
of Pontus,
Bithynia,
Cappado-
cia, and
Pergamus.

¹ Appian. Mithridat. c. 115, 116. met. & Memnon. apud Phot. cod. Polyb. l. v. c. 43. Plutarch in De- xxi. & seq.

CHAP. **X** origin from the other states erected at this time in the Pe-
 ——— ninsula.

Philetærus, treasurer to Lysimachus, who had offered to resign his invaluable strong-hold to Seleucus, thought fit to appropriate and defend it upon the tragical death of that great prince. His castle, through the judicious employment of the treasures which it contained, grew into the capital of a small territory. This was ably governed by Philetærus, for the space of twenty years², and by him peacefully transmitted to his nephew Eumenes; from which time forward, Pergamus was governed by princes called alternately Eumenes and Attalus; while Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia respectively acknowledged the lines of Nicomedes, Mithridates, and Ariarathes; hereditary names with their ancient satraps. The king of Bithynia fortified his residence, called from him Nicomedia, on the bay of Astakus: the royal army of Pontus, a kingdom afterwards so famous under the sixth Mithridates, occupied the banks of the Thermodon: Mazaca, on the river Melas, served for the principal strong-hold of the Cappadocian³.

Irruption
of the
Gauls.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 2.
B. C. 279.

Contemporary with the formation of these hostile states, in the center of the empire, an event happened of still greater magnitude, and which left deep and bloody impressions both in Europe and in Asia. This was the fierce irruption of the Gauls, which swept away the Greek kingdom laboriously erected by Lysimachus in Thrace; reduced Macedon to that condition of weakness in which it had subsisted before the reign of Philip; and carrying desolation into Greece, threatened with total extinction her once illustrious republics. From Europe, the Gauls crossed the narrow seas into Asia, defeated and slew Antiochus, the unequal successor to Seleucus; long exercised a predatory dominion over his finest provinces, and finally usurped, in Lesser Asia, the large territory called from them Galatia. We shall proceed to relate

² Strabo, l. xiii. p. 623.

& Memnon. apud Phot. p. 722.

³ Id. l. xii. p. 568, & l. xiv. p. 663.

this part of history after briefly adverting to the transactions immediately preceding it, in the various divisions of the empire. CHAP. X.

Of this empire, Antiochus, from the vastness of his dominions, deserved to be regarded as the head. In his father's lifetime, he reigned over a wide expanse of Upper Asia, then bridled by garrisons, enriched by marts of inland traffic, adorned in many places by Grecian arts and edifices, and confirmed in peaceful allegiance under its Macedonian masters. Besides Syria, which he inherited, the huge square previously resigned to him, touching on its four sides the Euphrates and Indus, the Arabian gulph and the Caspian, was computed two centuries ago⁴, to contain, under the general name of Persia, above five hundred cities, sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of inhabitants. If such indeed was its population, after a long succession of barbarous dynasties, how much more flourishing⁵ must it have been, when, through the arrangements of Alexander, the Scythians and Arabs, those desolating Nomadic conquerors, were kept at a distance, and confined within their native deserts? But as if the passive submission of such dominions had diminished their magnitude or importance, Antiochus was in haste to claim Macedon, in virtue of the last victory of his father. In his progress westward, he had to encounter the Bithynians, and other rebels in Lesser Asia. The opposition which he found in that quarter, and which he was unable to overcome⁶, made him transfer his court and army from the neighbourhood of the Tigris, to that of the Orontes. Instead of Seleucia Babylonia, Antioch was chosen for his residence, agreeably to a policy not unusual, of fixing the capi-

Transactions immediately preceding it. I. in the kingdom of the Greeks.

⁴ Conf. Chardin. v. iii. c. 1. & seq. and Tavernier, v. i. p. 635.

⁵ Even the mountainous tracts between the Caspian and the Indus, the roughest parts of the whole territory, contained many Greek cities. Appian Syriac. and Strabo, passim. The satrapies subject to the kingdom of the Greeks, are stated in

Maccabees at seventy-two: Artaxerxes boasted one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies, from India to Ethiopia, Esther, c. xvi. v. 1. Their number for reasons above given continually varied.

⁶ Memnon. apud Phot. and Appian Syriac.

CHAP.
X.

tal of empires near that frontier where most danger is apprehended⁷. In the last twenty years of Seleucus, the natural advantages of Syria had been improved with the industry of art, and the zeal of affection; for the valley of the Orontes, extending ten days' journey from Antioch to Damascus, the snowy mountains from which it was refreshed, the lakes and rivers by which it was watered, revived, in the fancy of the Macedonians, the beloved image of their native country. This northern division of Syria was divided into districts, distinguished by Macedonian names, and adorned by Antioch, Laodiceæ, Seleucia, and Pella; the last of which cities was afterwards called Apamea. The pastures of Syrian Pella exceeded in extent and fertility those of Pella in Macedon, and served under the successor of Seleucus, to feed five hundred elephants, thirty thousand brood mares, and three hundred stallions⁸. The place was crowded by soldiers, grooms, riding masters, and their pupils, and entirely dedicated to arms and exercises; while productive and commercial industry enriched the greater cities in its neighbourhood. Oppressed by the military despotism of the Mamelukes, Syria in the fourteenth century, is said to have contained sixty thousand villages⁹; a vague estimate, yet serving to evince the resources of that country under a wiser and milder administration.

II. In
Egypt.

Egypt, by its detached situation, and the diligence of the first Ptolemy in fortifying it, was placed beyond the reach of the Gallic broad sword. At the age of eighty-four, that able prince left his son Philadelphus, whom he had previously associated in power, sole master of Egypt and its dependencies in Cyrene and Cyprus¹⁰.

This second Ptolemy had now reigned four years, at peace abroad, firm in his government at home, and zealous to com-

⁷ "It may be observed of the capitals of states, in general, that such as are neither emporiums of commerce, nor meant as citadels in the last resort, are attracted, as it were, to the quarter from which hostility is either intended or expected."

Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, Introduction, p. 48.

⁸ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

⁹ Histoire de Timur. Rec. l. v. c. 20.

¹⁰ Lucian in Macrob. Conf. Pol. l. ii. c. 41. and Pausan. l. i. c. 7.

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III. In Macedon

¹³ *Id.* in *Demet.*

¹⁴ See above, p. 447: the friendly connexion between Lysimachus and Heraclia.

CHAP. were provided with five and six tier of oars, and one even
 X. with eight tier, bearing an hundred rowers on each. On the two sides of the vessel, there were thus sixteen hundred seamen, besides two pilots, and twelve hundred marines, who fought from the decks¹⁵.

Keraunus
 murders
 his ne-
 phews in
 presence
 of their
 mother.

Keraunus having in this manner repelled or eluded foreign hostility, had however one enemy behind, in the heart of his kingdom, his half-sister Arsinoe, the widow of Lysimachus, who, since the destruction of her husband, had remained shut up with her two sons in the city of Cassandria. The strength of the place might have made an obstinate resistance; and the unprincipled boldness of Arsinoe trembled at no crime for recovering her own lost greatness, or enforcing the claims of her children. To avoid the delays of a siege, Keraunus had recourse to artifice; he imputed his crimes only to love for Arsinoe, and solemnly swore that if she consented to accept him as her husband, her sons by Lysimachus should inherit the throne. The profligacy of her own character might have taught this wretched woman to distrust the oaths of Keraunus. But she confided, perhaps, in her greater dexterity for anticipating his crimes; or thought, more probably, nothing, save the seduction of Agathocles, beyond the power of her charms: Cassandria opened its gates. Arsinoe threw herself, as affianced, into the arms of her victorious brother; but amidst the preparations for the nuptial ceremony, the sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus and Philip, one sixteen and the other thirteen years old, were butchered before their mother's eyes, by the execrable cruelty of their uncle¹⁶. By this monstrous deed, uniting the bloodiest ferocity with the basest perfidy, Keraunus completed a rapid series of prosperous crimes, which confirmed his sovereignty in Macedon, and sealed the title which he had assumed from the resistless celerity of thunder¹⁷. But in the space of a few months, he was hitn-

¹⁵ Memnon. apud Photium, c. xiv. p. 718.

¹⁶ Conf. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. and l. xxiv. c. 2.

¹⁷ Pausanias Attic. refers the origin of this name to his celerity;

Memnon, to his ferocity. Excerpt. c. ix. p. 714. The furious Bajazet I. probably knew not that his title of Ilderim, had been anticipated by an ancient king of Macedon.

self doomed to swift destruction, by enemies not less deserving of that tremendous epithet. CHAP.
X.

During the short span allotted to him, he was alike busy in arms and intrigues. He had pretended to avenge Lysimachus in the blood of Seleucus; he now pretended to avenge Agathocles, by the murder of the sons of Arsinoe, since, for their sake, that virtuous prince had been abandoned to the rage of his stepmother by his unnatural father. As uniting in his own person the rights of Lysimachus and Agathocles, Keraunus, in addition to Macedon, claimed the contiguous kingdom of Thrace; and, after defeating Antigonus Gonatas, he was eager to extend his dominion on the other side, by carrying his arms into Greece. But a prince whose crimes were palpable, and whose character was odious, found his authority too precarious at home to make vigorous exertions abroad. The barbarous monarchy of Thrace, which Lysimachus had cemented with such unremitting labour, was in a moment dissolved. Each warlike chieftain trusted to the sword of his immediate dependents for a separate establishment. Under the hereditary names of Seuthes, Cotys, and Sitalces, the Thracians resumed their accustomed animosities, and repeated their ancient depredations, the tribe of the Bessi¹⁸ spreading terror from Mount Rhodope, the Odrysæ¹⁹ prevailing in the inland country, and the Sapæans²⁰ domineering over the seacoast. Blinded by their domestic feuds, they perceived not the arm of the Gauls, uplifted and ready to overwhelm them.

In Greece, which had long been a sport to the Macedonian captains, affairs assumed a new aspect. Its ancient republics again emerged from obscurity, through the weakness and disunion of their former masters. The recent disaster of Antigonus, in the attempt to recover his father's kingdom of Macedon, V. In
Greece.

¹⁸ Strabo, l. vii. p. 318. Et sua Bessi nive duriores. Paul. Nolan. Carm. v. 206.

¹⁹ The most powerful tribe in Thrace, and whose name is often used as synonymous with that of the

nation.

Mavors in Prælia currus

Odrysia tellure vocat. Sil. Ital. l.

iv. v. 432.

²⁰ Strabo, l. x. p. 457.

CHAP. lessened his ascendancy in the Peloponnesus. The cities
 X. beyond the Isthmus expelled his deputies, whom they stigmatized as tyrants. Athens, under her admired Callippus²¹, once more despising danger, began to pant for glory. The Achæans renewed their confederacy of virtue and liberty²²; the Etolians were always ready to associate in leagues of rapacity and revenge. Such was the general state of the Empire in its principal divisions, from the Indus to the Ionian sea, when the western and most warlike frontier was assailed by an enemy, hitherto little known in those parts, and therefore the more formidable.

Gaul.

The spacious square, called Galatia, or Gallia, by the ancients, was comprehended, in one direction, between the English channel and the Mediterranean; and in another, between the Bay of Biscay and the Rhine. Its two southern corners were fortified by the natural bulwarks of the Alps and Pyrenees. This ample and compact territory was, in all ages, distinguished by the roving inconstancy and martial enterprise of the Galatians, Gauls, or Celts²³, its immemorial inhabitants. Three centuries before the migration, whose important consequences we are going to explain, history records how the Gallic tribes, actuated by their habitual curiosity or unsteadiness, penetrated into the northern valleys of the Alps, where the vast abundance of wood for fuel and for building, with rich specks of intermediate pasture, induced them to take up their temporary abode, until moved, with the desire of exploring what lay beyond those regions of snow and solitude, some daring adventurers, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, insinuated themselves through the windings of the

Ancient
 emigra-
 tions of its
 natives.

²¹ Pausanias, l. i. p. 4.

²² Plutarch in Arat.

²³ Unlike as the words Galatians and Celts sound to an English ear, they are clearly the same. According to the analogy of the language spoken by the Gauls inhabiting Lesser Asia, the *e* in the word denoting *Celts*, plural, is changed from *a* in the singular. From *Calta* to *Galta*

and *Galata*, the transition is easy, as the difference is rather in the writing than in the pronunciation. The name of *Celtæ* or *Galli* is applied, either generally to the whole inhabitants of Gaul, (Vid. Strabo, l. iv. and l. vii.) or particularly to one of the three great divisions of people inhabiting that country. *Cæsar de Bell. Gallic.* l. i. c. 1.

Tyrol, and passing one mountain after another, poured from the Rhetian rocks into the soft bosom of Italy²⁴. The beauties of the delicious plain, into which they had suddenly descended, affected them the more powerfully, as they still affect every traveller²⁵, by contrast with the rugged savageness of the mountains which they had left behind. When news of their successful boldness reached their longing countrymen, ever discontented at home, the standard of foreign enterprise was crowded by new multitudes, who invaded, conquered, and colonized part of the territory between the Alps and Apennines, then cultivated by the Tuscans; from which, careless of every art but agriculture and arms, the Gauls diffused terror on all sides around them: compelled the neighbouring nations of Italy to receive their yoke; and about a century before the period which forms our present subject, sacked the less fortified part of Rome, and were on the point of storming the citadel. But fortune watched over the safety of this illustrious commonwealth, and rescued her feeble infancy from the gripe of those sanguinary assailants. The Veneti, a people agreeing with the Gallic invaders in appearance and manners, but differing from them in language, had made an irruption into their domestic territories²⁶, and retorted their cruel devastations. The Gauls, stung with rage at this aggression, abandoned their new conquests; and flew to defend their homes, their household gods, and helpless families. On many future occasions they marched southward to Latium, and with the assistance of their brethren beyond the Alps, desolated the open country, and conquered in several battles²⁷; but they never had reason to rejoice in the success of a single campaign; and their struggle with Rome,

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X.

Their conquests in Italy and struggle with Rome.

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 17—33 & seq.

²⁵ I speak from a warm recollection of my own feelings.

²⁶ Polyb. l. ii. c. 17, 18. The veneti, according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 194. were a Belgic nation: and the Belgæ, who were the bravest people in Gaul, differed in language from

the Celtæ and Aquitani; the two other nations by whom Gaul was inhabited. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. i.

²⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 18. & seq. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 9. & seq. viii. c. 20. l. x. c. 27. and seq.

CHAP. for the dominion of Italy, during a period of an hundred and
 X. sixty-five years²⁸, exhibits the unequal conflict of brutal ferocity and wild enterprise, against disciplined valour and deep-working policy.

Their invasion of the countries south of the Danube.

The lofty destiny of the power with which they so long contended, gives an interest to the *Italian* Gauls, which their *Illyrian* brethren possess inherently in themselves, from the strangeness and variety of their adventures. In modern times, navigation is perpetually discovering new lands, but in remote ages of antiquity, the love of wandering was only bounded by the discovery of new and impassable seas. Could we make a fair estimate of the dangers encountered, and the obstacles overcome, the courage of the Gauls in penetrating from the confines of the Rhine to those of the Euxine, after exploring the gloom of the Hercinian forest, and settling their colony of Boii, in the delightful irriguous district, still commemorating this event in its name of Bohemia²⁹, would not perhaps be disgraced by a comparison with the boasted exploits of our most celebrated mariners. In the expedition of those fierce tribes, which invaded the Macedonian empire, no notice however is taken of their contrivances for passing the Danube, nor the smallest hint dropped of any hostilities between them and the Germans. Though the vague language of antiquity brings them from the extremities of the ocean, from coasts repelling approach by rocks, tides, and sea monsters³⁰, we may conclude, therefore, more probably, that they marched immediately from the provinces south of the Danube, from Noricum, Pannonia, or Illyricum.

Their arts and manners.

But the inquiry into what they were, is more important than the question, from whence they either immediately or originally came. The most curious indeed of the Greeks

²⁸ Rome was sacked Olymp. xcvi. 3. B. C. 390. The decisive victory of Æmilius was gained Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

²⁹ Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. The word is

plainly German. Boienheim.

³⁰ Pausanias Attic. l. i. c. 3. Horace had before said,

Te belluosus qui remotis
 Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.

L. iv. Ode 14.

acknowledge their very imperfect³¹ information concerning these great divisions of Europe, which in modern times, have been cultivated and improved into flourishing and powerful kingdoms. From the notices which they afford, we can only infer, that the inhabitants of Gaul, like those of Britain, Spain, and Germany, subsisted in that middle state of barbarism, which though elevated above the penury and gloom of savage life, was still further removed from the dignity and elegance of enlightened commonwealths. Their uncouth appearance, tumultuary governments, ferocious manners, and abominable superstitions, which made historians hesitate, whether the Gauls had not a natural unfitness for civilization, were accompanied, however, with such knowledge in the arts appertaining to war and agriculture, as usually denote a considerable degree of improvement in society. The use of iron and copper was familiar in their instruments or implements; the ore collected from the foaming torrents of their rivers was smelted into gold for the ornaments of both sexes³²; their houses, though formed wholly of wood, were so firmly constructed as to repel the inclemencies of a northern sky; and they had provided useful animals in such abundance, that the flower of their military force consisted in cavalry³³. In this last particular, they agreed with the Germans, with whom in all other respects, those tribes³⁴ of the Gauls, at least, who invaded the Macedonian empire, should seem to have had much affinity. Their complexions, like those of the Germans, were fair; their long hair was for the most part red, which colour both nations heightened by art³⁵; and the Gauls as well as Germans were dreadfully distinguished by gigantic stature and unbridled ferocity. In their military expeditions,

Persons,
armour,
and tactics.

³¹ Polyb. l. iii. c. 38. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. and iv. The distinction between the Gauls and Germans is particularly obscure. The latter, according to Strabo, l. vii. p. 290. were called *Germani* by the Romans, to express their genuine affinity with the Gauls. The Belgæ, the bravest nation in Gaul, Cæsar says were descended chiefly from

Germans. De Bell. Gallic. l. ii. c. 4.

³² Diodor. l. v. c. 27.

³³ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20. Conf. Diodorus, l. v. s. 29. and Strabo, l. iv. p. 196.

³⁴ Strabo, loc. citat. extends the observation to the Gauls in general. Conf. l. vii. p. 290.

³⁵ Diodor. l. v. s. 28.

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each Gallic horseman was accompanied by two retainers, also mounted; one of whom assisted his master when unhorsed or wounded, and the other instantly succeeded to his place in the ranks. This singular arrangement was expressed by a word, which, like all the remains of the dialect of those Gauls exactly corresponds with the language still spoken in Germany³⁶. The armour of their foot soldiers was suitable to their persons, and like them more remarkable for magnitude than firmness³⁷. Their *gæsa* were missile weapons, consisting of a wooden rod tipped with iron³⁸. Having thrown the *gæsum*, the Gaul had recourse to his broad sword³⁹ which differed essentially from the swords of Greece and Italy, in being formed, not to pierce or thrust, but chiefly to hack or strike, and therefore less fitted to inflict a dangerous wound, while the uplifted arm, by which it was brandished, invited the pointed weapon of a dexterous adversary⁴⁰. To ward off this danger, the Gaul interposed the orb of an ample though light buckler, his defence in war, his ornament in peace; for though his neck and arms were adorned by a golden collar and bracelets, yet the emblems, described on his Thyrius or shield, were the specific indications of his merit and renown⁴¹. To paint or carve these emblems, consisting in rude resemblances of fierce animals⁴², afforded an agreeable employment to his leisure. Each noble warrior was distinguished by his peculiar coat of arms, recording the glory of his ancestors or his own; and according to careful observers of human manners, the Gauls, like most ignorant Barbarians,

Coats of
arms.

³⁶ Τὸ τοῦ ἀνομαζόν το συνταγμα τρι-
μαρκισίαν. Pausan. Phocic. c. ix. p.
645. Edit. Xyland. Trimarkisia, the
termination is Greek, but the word
evidently compounded of *drey*, three,
and *mahr*, a horse. Yet the same
Greek word is allied to the Cornish
marh, the Welch and Armoric
march, and the Scotch or Irish *marc*.
Many words being common to the
Teutonic and Celtic, little is to be
built on such etymologies.

³⁷ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 42.

³⁸ They were much used in fow-
ling. Strabo, l. iv. p. 136.

³⁹ Αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ ξίφος σπαθας ἔχουσιν. Ib.
id. c. 30. The word *σπαθα* has passed
to the modern Italians, "*spada*,"
through their admixture with the
Gauls.

⁴⁰ Veget. de Re Milit. l. i. c. 12.
The Romans were taught "*punc-
tim non cæsime ferire*," to thrust,
not to cut or hack.

⁴¹ Θυρίαις ἀνδρομυκίσσι πεποικιλμέναις
ἰδιότροποις. Diodor. l. v. c. 30.

⁴² Thence the word expressing
their shield from the German word
Thier, a wild beast.

were extravagantly fond of finery, and totally corrupted by ostentation and vanity; vices which rendered them insolent in prosperity, and meanly abject under the first reverse of fortune⁴³.

Both parts of their character are illustrated in their transactions with the Greeks. The behaviour of their ambassadors to Alexander, while that conqueror was encamped near the Danube, made him say contemptuously, "The Gauls are an arrogant people." The glory of the Macedonian hero repelled the hostility of neighbours, who, under the pretence of embassies, explored an opportunity for inroads.

Their first expedition into Thrace was conducted by Cam-
baules in the reign of Lysimachus. The invaders proceeded
to the foot of mount Hæmus, but the reception which they
met with made them retreat precipitately homewards. They
resumed their undertaking during the bloody and distracted
usurpation of Ptolemy Keraunus⁴⁴. At that period, so fa-
vourable to their views, the Gauls under three distinguished
leaders poured into Thrace and Macedon; the former coun-
try was ravaged by Cerethrius, the latter fell a prey to
Belgius and to Brennus. The petty chieftains of Thrace,
who had recently emancipated themselves, as we have seen,
from Keraunus, sought refuge in their walls and fastnesses.
The inhabitants of Pæonia beheld from their battlements the
sword of Brennus raging uncontrolled in that northern
division of Macedon. Belgius carried desolation into the
southern provinces; but had not the rashness of Keraunus
equalled his cruelty, Pella, Dium, and other strong-holds
might have sheltered his army and subjects, until the Gallic
hurricane had spent its rage. But the mad Keraunus, who, in
the language of an ancient historian, thought it as easy to
gain victories as to commit crimes⁴⁵, hurried inconsiderately
to the field. The Macedonians were broken and put to flight.

⁴³ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. i. c. 4. and Polybius, l. ii. c. 32. & seq. & l. iii. c. 75. & Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28. et passim. Strabo, l. iv. p. 195, is more favourable to the Gauls, call-
ing them a simple people and without malice, απλὴν καὶ ὑκακῆθες.

⁴⁴ Pausanias, l. x. e. 19.

⁴⁵ Justin, l. xxiv. c. 4.

CHAP. by enemies far inferior to themselves both in armour and in
 X. discipline. Ptolemy, fighting on an elephant ⁴⁶, was wounded and made captive. His dead body became a sport to the Gauls; and his head, being fixed on a lance, was carried through their ranks in barbaric triumph ⁴⁷.

They are repelled by Sosthenes, but return with increased numbers. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

Upon the death of this usurper and tyrant, the Macedonians, to resist the torrent of invasion, elected a new king or general. Meleager reigned two months; his successor Antipater was denominated the Etesian, because his command lasted forty-five days ⁴⁸, the ordinary period of the Etesian winds. Sosthenes, a man adored by the multitude ⁴⁹, assumed the helm of government, skilfully eluded the assailing tempest, watched his opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage, defeated the Gauls in battle, and slew Belgius their leader. But this tide of prosperity was not of long continuance. The invaders retreated to their brethren, still employed in ravaging Pæonia and Thrace; and, from thence proceeding to their possessions near the Danube tempted their countrymen, who had hitherto declined the expedition, with an alluring account of Macedon, recently adorned by the spoils of the East; expatiating on the wealth and luxury of its cities, the lofty grandeur of its palaces, the splendour and magnificence of its temples. To their rude eloquence, they are said to have joined the artifice of exposing the most puny of their Macedonian captives covered with rags, in contrast with the tallest of the Gallic youth richly ornamented and proudly armed ⁵⁰. Animated with the hope of an easy conquest, the Gauls prepared for emigration in swarms, compared poetically by Callimachus to the twinkling stars of a winter's night, and with less philosophical inaccuracy to the thick descending flakes of drifted snow ⁵¹. History computes

⁴⁶ Memnon apud Phot. c. xv. p. 718.

⁴⁷ Pausan. l. x. c. 19.

⁴⁸ Diodor. Fragm. l. xxi. p. 641.

⁴⁹ *Δημοτικός* will bear this sense, though Justin translate *ignobilis*,

very inconsistently, since he had just before called him "*unus ex principibus*," l. xxiv. c. 5.

⁵⁰ Polyzenus, l. vii. c. 35.

⁵¹ Hymn. in Delum.

their number at an hundred and fifty-two thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry ⁵². But in their march towards Macedon a sedition divided this mighty host: Leonorus and Lutarius with their followers diverged to Cerethrius on the coast of Thrace, laid Byzantium and other maritime cities in its neighbourhood under heavy contributions, and being joined by new swarms from the Danube, founded the Gallic kingdom of Tule⁵³, extending from the foot of mount Hæmus to the Propontis, and which lasted from this time forward during a period of sixty years; when it was overturned by a rebellion of the Thracians.

Meanwhile Brennus and Acichorius, commanding the main body of their countrymen, pursued their journey to the Macedonian capital, defeated and slew Sosthenes ⁵⁴; and having ravaged Macedon, entered Thessaly, cruelly desolating the country, and plundering the temples with sportive insult. After marching unobstructed through so many warlike nations, and vanquishing the Macedonians who had often conquered Greece, they expected not to meet with any considerable resistance in that country. But the Greeks, who had sunk, as we have seen, under the military preponderancy of Alexander's immediate successors, began, as before related, to emerge amidst the weakness and impolicy of those who came after them. To oppose the Gauls, they collected a greater force than that with which, in their brightest ages, they had resisted the invasions of the Persians. Twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the cavalry of the Etolians, whose number is not specified in history, assembled in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ ⁵⁵. This army was furnished solely by the states beyond the Isthmus. As the Gauls had not a fleet, the Pello-

The Gauls
invade
Greece.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 3.
B. C. 278.

Are resist-
ed by a
greater
force than
that raised
against the
Persians.

⁵² Justin, l. xxiv. c. 6. but each warrior, as said above, was followed by two attendants, so that the whole number of horsemen amounted to 45,000.

⁵³ Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. Cavarus was

the last Gaul who reigned in Thrace. Polyb. l. iv. c. 46 & 52. Conf. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. vi. p. 252.

⁵⁴ Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

⁵⁵ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

CHAP.
X.

ponnesians provided for their safety by fortifying the narrow inlet to their territory; and Antigonus Gonatas, who still held Corinth and several other cities of the peninsula, reinforced but sparingly the confederates at Thermopylæ, commanded by Callippus the Athenian. The Gauls having proceeded to Magnesia in Thessaly, sent advanced parties to Phthiotis, another district in that country; and prepared to pass the Sperchius, a deep and broad river, which flows from the roots of mount Œta into the Malian gulph.

They pass
the Spher-
chius and
ravage
Phthiotis.

Callippus detached a body of horse and light infantry to destroy the bridges on the river. This service was effected with ease, but without any advantage, for Brennus immediately advanced many thousands of his tallest men, who, as the Sperchius expands and grows shallow towards its mouth, either waded over, or swam across the stream, by the aid of their broad and buoyant bucklers ⁵⁶. The Greek detachment fell back to the camp of Thermopylæ; and the Gauls, now masters of the Malian gulph, compelled the inhabitants of its shores to build new bridges, conducted their main army across the Sperchius, and ravaged without mercy the whole territory of Heraclæa; a city built by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian war, near ancient Trachis in Phthiotis ⁵⁷, which now lay in ruins. The invaders spared neither age nor sex in the open country. They waited not, however, to besiege the city into which the Etolians had recently thrown a considerable garrison; but passing contemptuously under its walls, hastened to dislodge the Greeks from Thermopylæ ⁵⁸.

Are defeated and repelled at Thermopylæ.

As the invaders were ignorant of the roads leading from Thessaly to Phocis across mount Œta, they followed the narrow tract confined between the eastern extremities of that mountain and the slimy marine marsh formed by the tides of the Malian gulph. From a source of hot waters about half way between the entrance and issue of the defile, the

⁵⁶ Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

and 263. and Strabo, l. ix. p. 295.

⁵⁷ Conf. Thucyd. l. iii. p. 240

⁵⁸ Pausanias, *ibid.*

whole tract is called the Straits of Thermopylæ, extending seven English miles in length, and at the northern extremity forty-eight feet wide, swelling to the breadth of forty fathoms towards the middle, and again contracting at Alpenus to a narrow pass of only eight feet⁵⁹: which opened into the woody plain of Bessa. In such ground, neither the cavalry nor the vast numbers of the Gauls could avail them. The bravest of their infantry rushed with loud shouts and blind fury to the straits, where the heavy armed Greeks resisted them in front, while their flanks were galled by missile weapons from the light troops conveniently posted on the adjacent hills, and from a large Athenian fleet which had come to anchor in the Malian gulph. Their limber *Thyrri* formed ineffectual defences against the weight and sharpness of iron javelins; and their cutting broad swords were ill-fitted to contend with the points of Grecian spears. Enraged to madness by disappointment and pain, many tore from their flesh the darts by which they had been wounded, and furiously retorted them on the enemy. But as their progress was completely checked, they grew tired of suffering in vain, and retreated more precipitately than they had advanced, trampling down each other on the sides of the mountain, or sinking irrecoverably in the slippery marsh. The victors declined to pursue them into the Trachinian plain, where their superiority of numbers might have again rendered them formidable. They were contented to have repelled, with little loss to themselves, those inhuman Barbarians, at whose stupidity they wondered, in their neglect before battle of every mode of divination or augury; at whose impiety they shuddered, in their unconcern after defeat, about recovering the bodies of their slain⁶⁰.

Seven days elapsed before the Gauls renewed their attempts for penetrating into Phocis, and then not by Thermopylæ, but by an abrupt mountainous path leading to the ruins

Enormities
committed
by the
Gauls in
the valley
Callion

⁵⁹ Herodot. l. vii. c. 176. et seq.

⁶⁰ Pausanias, *ibid.*

CHAP. of Trachis and a rich temple of Minerva, which they purpo-
 X. sed to plunder on their way. The traitors, or fugitives, from
 whom they obtained notice of this road, had neglected to in-
 form them, that it was strongly guarded. They were attacked
 unexpectedly, and repelled. Brennus, having learned that the
 Etolians were more numerous than other divisions of the
 confederates, determined to cause a diversion by invading
 Etolia. Forty thousand men were detached under Orestorius
 and Camburis, the fiercest and most sanguinary of the Gallic
 chiefs. They repassed the Sperchius, traversed Thessaly in
 haste, and entering the devoted province of Etolia, desolated
 it most dreadfully by fire and sword. Having taken the city
 Callion, in the valley watered by the Evenus, between
 mounts Pindus and Tymphrestus, they killed the men, viola-
 ted the women, and ate the children; aggravating⁶¹, it is said,
 even these brutal enormities by deeds too shocking to be de-
 scribed, and too monstrous to be easily believed. Their un-
 merciful invasion made the Etolians withdraw from the con-
 federate army, to repel their private wrongs. Assisted by the
 Achæans of Patræ, who sailed to them from the opposite
 side of the Corinthian gulph, they encountered the Gauls as
 they returned in triumph, loaded with the spoils of their
 houses and temples. These desolating invaders were defeated
 with great slaughter, and almost entirely destroyed in their
 retreat, the whole inhabitants of Etolia, old men, and even
 women, deriving such vigour from revenge, as enabled them
 to overwhelm with condign punishment inhuman and exe-
 crable Barbarians, who, in their frightful behaviour at Callion,
 had surpassed the sanguinary feasts of the Cyclops and Les-
 trigons⁶².

revenged
on them by
the Eto-
lians.

The Gauls
turn the
Grecian
army by
passing
mount
Œta.

Meanwhile Brennus remained not inactive at Thermopylæ. The inhabitants of the districts around his camp, willing by any means, however unwarrantable, to rid themselves of such dreadful guests, offered to conduct him into Phocis by a middle path, more spacious than the road along the shore,

⁶¹ Pausanias, l. x. c. 22. p. 650.

⁶² Id. c. 23.

and more easy of ascent than the passage by Trachis. He consented to follow them with above forty thousand men, after leaving Acichorius in his camp, with orders to renew the assault at Thermopylæ, as soon as he himself should have crossed the mountains. The tract, which Brennus now pursued, was the same by which the Persian Hydarnes turned the invincible army of Leonidas. It lay across thick forests of oaks, and was guarded by a detachment of Phocians. On the day that Brennus with the best half of his army ascended the mountain, the air was darkened by such a thick fog, that the Gauls were first discovered by raising their shout of war, which preceded the general discharge of their *gasa*. The Phocians in providing for their own safety, neglected not that of their confederates at Thermopylæ, now in danger of being crushed between the assault of Acichorius in front, and that of Brennus in rear. They flew to their allies; apprised them of their danger: the Athenian fleet still anchored on the coast; the Greeks embarked, and sailed to the defence of their respective territories⁶³.

The golden treasures of Delphi attracted the avidity of Brennus. Without waiting for Acichorius, whose progress had been interrupted chiefly through the desperate exertions of the Etolians, he advanced to plunder the temple, the rich seat of commerce⁶⁴ and superstition. Already he perceived at a distance the fantastic tops of Parnassus, overshadowing the sacred city. At length Delphi rose to view in form of an amphitheatre, extending two miles in circumference, destitute of walls, but sufficiently defended by the awfulness of the place and the majesty of its oracle. The Gauls carelessly regarded the towering summits and deep caverns of Parnassus: they beheld without emotion the rude and shapeless mount Cirphis, pouring forth the foaming Plistus. But the shining ornaments of the temple which crowned, as it were, the city; with the bright statues disposed on different terraces and irradiating the spacious streets to which they respectively pointed, inflamed the boundless rapacity of Barbarians, who,

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They march against Delphi. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

⁶³ Pausanias, l. x. c. 22. ⁶⁴ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. .

CHAP. though they neither admired nor knew the beauties of art;
X.

Marvellous
interposi-
tion in fa-
vour of the
sacred city,
and dread-
ful destruc-
tion of the
Gauls.

yet coveted, as inestimable, the glittering materials⁶⁵. They rushed forward to seize those golden or rather gilded images, defended only by the Delphic priests and citizens, and four thousand Phocians and Etolians who had hastened to their assistance. But, according to the most circumstantial narrative of the Gallic invasion, aid more powerful than mortal arm can afford defended the city of Apollo. It was winter: a collecting tempest exploded; the ground shook with a palpable and long-continued motion; amidst tremendous peals of thunder, the temples of Delphi opened spontaneously; while the venerable forms of ancient heroes and armed virgins appeared ready to oppose the fury of the impious assailants. As darkness approached, the Gauls were overtaken by more substantial evils, benumbing cold and an extraordinary fall of snow, which, overloading the craggs of Parnassus, hurled them from their bases, and buried many wretched victims under the ponderous *avalanche*. At dawn, Brennus hastened to remove from a scene of terror, equally intolerable to his senses and his fancy. But his march was obstructed in front by a body of auxiliary pikemen, while his flanks and rear were harassed by the enraged Phocians themselves, who, being well acquainted with the intricate sinuities of the mountains, issued unexpectedly like demons of vengeance from their winding and snowy paths. At the head of his guards, distinguished by their strength and stature, and whose courage not even the manifest wrath of the gods could appal, Brennus fought valiantly till disabled by his wounds. The guards then gave way, carrying off their bleeding chief, and augmented the tumultuous rout of their disbanded army. All next day, they pursued their dreary flight through dangerous roads and deserted villages, from which the Greeks had carefully removed every necessary of life. When night returned, they were seized with a panic terror, which directed their arms against each other. Brennus

⁶⁵ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 3.

died by his own hand. His wretched followers, having joined the harassed division of their countrymen under Acichorius, fell into an ambush laid for them by the Athenians and Bœotians in their way to Heraclæa. A part, however, reached the camp in that place, where a detachment had remained to guard the booty previously collected. The camp was raised; the remnant of the Gallic invaders repassed the Sperchius; but in Thessaly they had to encounter a new ambush, and were totally destroyed ⁶⁶.

Such is the narrative of Pausanias, which the Delphians might propagate from interest, which the Greeks might believe through superstition, and which friends to the Gauls might admit as the best apology for their shameful defeat. But an historian, more respectable than Pausanias, informs us that, instead of entirely perishing in their Grecian expedition, many Gauls rejoined their brethren in Thrace, and united with them in their newly established kingdom of Tule ⁶⁷. As the marvellous and total destruction of the invaders is not a matter of fact, so our knowledge of the Delphian priests will not justify the supposition that the losses really sustained by the enemy were produced by supernatural interference. To encourage their countrymen, the priests of Apollo, indeed, published a decree, that "the god would protect his temple;" but instead of committing their interests to heaven alone, they appear to have themselves defended them with admirable dexterity. After a fatiguing march across craggy mountains, the Gauls, it should seem, found the Delphian villages destitute of inhabitants, but copiously replenished with strong wine; a temptation which even their thirst for gold was altogether unable to resist. They were defeated, therefore, by their own intemperance ⁶⁸, before they were assailed by tempests, shaken by earthquakes, and repelled by armed divinities.

More probable account of that catastrophe.

⁶⁶ Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

⁶⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 6. & l. ii. c. 20. et l. iv. c. 46. et A. then. D. eipn. l. iv. p. 234.

⁶⁸ They could not resist the temptations of a delicious country, the luxuriant fruits of the Cressæan

plain, the rich wines produced from the sun beat rocks of Delphi. *Δελφίδι; ἀραι* Callimac. in Delum, v. 177. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5. With such Barbarians, the present passion is always the most powerful.

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X.

Subse-
quent for-
tunes of the
Gauls.

The disastrous expedition of the Gauls into Greece proved to that fierce nation but a transient misfortune. For the space of forty years after that event, they continued from their kingdom of Tulè to harass the neighbouring countries of Europe and of Asia. Their numbers which poured into the latter, equalled, perhaps surpassed, those of the Macedonian conquerors. As they were frequently augmented by new swarms from home, they seized, desolated, and abandoned large tracts of territory, laid the richest provinces under heavy contributions, and interfered with a high hand in the affairs of Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. During the whole course of their ambulatory dominion, they were vexatious to their neighbours, merciless to their enemies, and treacherous to their allies; often selling their troops to rival powers; easily quitting one service for another; and, in all this infamous traffic of blood, uniformly preferring the highest bidder⁶⁹. The first Antiochus king of Syria gained a battle over the Gauls from which he obtained his title of Soter, the saviour⁷⁰; but the same prince perished in a subsequent conflict with this barbarous enemy⁷¹. In the disputed succession of Bithynia, they interposed their armed mediation in favour of Nicomedes against his brother Zipætes. Upon the death of the former prince, they raised his unworthy son Zeilus to the throne, in opposition to his father's testament; and afterwards treacherously murdered the king whom they had capriciously created⁷². But according to the natural order of events, the ungoverned insolence of the Gauls occasioned the subversion of their power. Many thousands of them perished⁷³ in an attempt to shake the throne of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which they had been hired to defend. An hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said⁷⁴ to have fallen in Babylonia, while assisting a rebellious brother against Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria. At length the first Attalus, king of Pergamus, defeated them in a

⁶⁹ Conf. Polyb. l. iv. et Plutarch in Pyrrho. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16.

⁷⁰ Appian Syriac. c. 35.

⁷¹ Plin. l. viii. c. 42.

⁷² Memnon apud Phot. et Athenæus, l. ii. c. 18.

⁷³ Pausan. Attic.

⁷⁴ 2 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 20.

decisive battle, which, according to the popular belief of the Greeks, had been foretold by the prophetess Phaennis⁷⁵ twenty-five years before the passage of those Barbarians into Asia, and sixty-five years before that memorable victory⁷⁶.

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The incidents in the engagement itself are not recorded. History makes mention only of its cause and of its consequences. Attalus, who united craft with courage, having fixed an impression of gum on his right hand, plunged it into the recking bowels of a victim, which, being examined for the purpose of divination, announced to the wondering spectators "the king's victory"⁷⁷. Thus encouraged by recent prodigies as well as by ancient predictions, his soldiers conquered the more completely, because they believed themselves destined to conquer. The Gauls were totally worsted, driven from their possessions on the seacoast; and compelled by treaty to quit their ambulatory life and habits of depredation, and to remain in a central territory which they had long occupied, and which was thenceforward confirmed to them by the controlling powers in Asia⁷⁸.

Their defeat by Attalus of Pergamus. Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

The country thus assigned to them was called from their name Galatia, and consisted of three contiguous districts respectively dismembered from Bithynia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. Each of these districts of Galatia was inhabited by a particular tribe of Gauls⁷⁹. The Bithynian, or middle, division was the seat of the Tectosages, and its strong-hold Ancyra; towards the east dwelt the Trocmi, in the neighbourhood of Tavium; and on the west the Telestoboi in that of Pessinus, a place long famous in the commerce and superstition of the peninsula⁸⁰. Taken together, the three

Territories assigned to them.

⁷⁵ Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

⁷⁶ Polybius, in his character of Attalus, mentions this decisive victory over *Βαρυτατον και μαχιμωτατον εθνος των τοτε κατα την Ασίαν*, the most oppressive and most warlike nation at that time in Asia. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 24.

⁷⁷ Suidas.

⁷⁸ The prophecies of Phaennis an-

nouncing their total destruction are hyperbolical, *Ὅς πασιν Γαλατῆσι ολεθριον ημαρ ερροσι*. Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. & Polyb. ubi supra.

⁷⁹ Memnon apud Phot. c. xx. p. 722. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. & seq.

⁸⁰ Strabo, *ibid*.

CHAP. divisions of Galatia extended about two hundred miles in
 X. length and an hundred in breadth; a beautiful country diversi-
 fied by hill and dale, and intersected near its opposite extre-
 mities by the winding courses of the bitter Halys and fishful⁸¹
 Sangarius.

They be-
 come in-
 dustrious
 and peace-
 ful Olymp.
 exlviii. 1.
 B. C. 188.

As inveterate habits are seldom to be eradicated, the Gauls seem frequently to have relapsed into their former vices. The consul Manlius fifty-three years after their defeat by the Pergamenian king Attalus, and two years after Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans, found it necessary farther to repress the lawless spirit of the Gauls, and to take measures for rendering them in future honest and harmless neighbours⁸². Chiefly from this era, they seem to have availed themselves of the natural advantages of their country, whose mountains and valleys afforded excellent pasture, and whose sunny hills are naturally adapted to vines and olives. The saline qualities of the soil were peculiarly favourable to their valuable herds of sheep and goats⁸³. From the wool of the former and the soft hair of the latter, the Gauls manufactured a variety of cloths, whose beauty they were enabled to heighten by possessing in great abundance the coccus, affording an elegant purple dye⁸⁴. Enriched by the commerce of articles in great request, the unprincipled robbers improved into peaceful citizens. St. Paul's œcumenical epistle, addressed to the Galatians, implies that they were familiarly acquainted with the Greek tongue, then universally diffused over the civilized world. Between the beneficence and meek forbearance recommended by the apostle, and the brutal ferocity of Brennus and Camburis, how wide is the interval!

⁸¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 18.

⁸² Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 17. & seq.

⁸³ See the Description of the country in Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. Lettre xxi. and Browne's

Travels. Angora, the Ancyra of the Gauls, Mr. B. says is the neatest town, and its inhabitants the most polished people in all Anatolia.

⁸⁴ Salmas. ad Solinum, p. 272.

CHAPTER XI.

Effects of the Gallic Invasion. Reign of Antigonus Gonatas. The Achæan League. Reign of Antiochus Soter. Accession of Antiochus Theos. Revolt of Parthia and Bactria. Horrid Transactions in Syria. Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Tragic Events in Cyrene. Flourishing State of Egypt. Army. Navy. Treasury. Productive and commercial Industry. Canals and Harbours. Picture of Nations between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ptolemy's Views with regard to the Commerce carried on by the Ethiopian Nomades. Arts and Sciences. Constellations of Poets. Historians. Philosophers. Ptolemy's Intercourse by Embassies with Rome and Carthage. Transition to the History of the Growth and Aggrandizement of Rome.

THE conquests, made by the Gauls, corresponded not to the vastness of their numbers. Their invasion, however, left an extensive and lasting impression on the empire, besides separating from it the two important provinces of Thrace and Galatia. Their ravages so much weakened Macedon, that Antigonus Gonatas, with the aid of his Peloponnesian subjects, found little difficulty in remounting the throne of his father Demetrius. The first successors of Seleucus were prevented chiefly through the Gauls from recovering their lost authority in Lesser Asia; while the disorders which these Barbarians caused or abetted in all other parts of the empire gave a degree of relative importance to Egypt, to which that country truly valuable in itself, could not naturally have laid claim, but which it accidentally acquired while standing aloof from danger, and collecting the wealth, populousness, and industry of surrounding nations. This subject will be illustrated in the present chapter, which will contain the transactions of what may be called the second

CHAP.
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the Gallic
invasion.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 3.
B. C. 278.

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generation of Alexander's successors¹, since Antiochus Soter being prematurely cut off, the following king of Syria died in the same year with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even three years before Antigonus Gonatas.

Antigonus
Gonatas re-
covers Ma-
cedon.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 4.
B. C. 277.

Defends it
against An-
tiochus.

Against the
Gauls and
Pyrrhus.

The last mentioned prince reigned thirty-four years in Macedon. To the title of his father Demetrius above explained², Antigonus, by his mother Phylla, added the *legitimate* claims of the house of Antipater, after the family of the great Alexander had been totally extinguished. His authority, therefore, was not disputed by his Macedonian subjects; but, in the first stage of his administration, he found powerful competitors in Antiochus king of Syria³, in the chieftains of the Gauls, and in Pyrrhus of Epirus⁴. His vigorous exertions for defence, and the alliance of Nicomedes of Bithynia, compelled the king of Syria, after a fruitless campaign in Lesser Asia, to cede his pretensions to the Macedonian throne, and to yield in marriage to Antigonus the Syrian princess named Phylla after her grandmother, the admired daughter of Antipater⁵.

It happened fortunately for Antigonus that this treaty was cemented before he met with any disturbance from the Gauls in Tule, reinforced by new swarms from their seats in Illyricum and Pannonia. Though these invaders repeatedly en-

¹ This second generation contained those called *επιγονοί*, in opposition to the *διαγονοί*, or immediate successors. Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Proöm. The first Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Demetrius as joined in sovereignty with his father Antigonus, were *διαδοχοί*. Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, were *επιγονοί*.

² See, vol. i. p. 400.

³ Memnon Excerpt. c. 19.

⁴ Plut. in Pyrrho.

⁵ Justin, l. xxv. c. 1. & Plutarch

in Demet. The Phylla, whom Antigonus married, was daughter to his sister Stratonice, by her first husband Seleucus Nicator; and Stratonice, as above related, was resigned by Seleucus to cure the pining love of his son Antiochus. Phylla, therefore, was niece to Antigonus, who married her; and at once half-sister, and daughter-in-law to Antiochus, who gave her in marriage. The incestuous unions of the Greek kings involve their affinities in endless perplexity.

tered his kingdom, they were resisted with such superior skill, that they retreated with more loss to themselves than they occasioned to the enemy⁶. The terror caused by their first furious irruption had gradually subsided; but they became again formidable when headed by Pyrrhus, just returned without success, but with little diminution of renown, from his Italian expedition. With a combined army of Gauls and Epirots, that warlike adventurer, whose exploits in Italy and Sicily will claim our attention hereafter, made himself master of the greatest part of Macedon, and might have gained and preserved the whole, when he hastened unadvisedly to make new conquests in Peloponnesus. He was slain in the assault of Argos; and his death was viewed as a judgment both in Greece and Macedon, his Gallic allies or mercenaries by ransacking for gold the royal tombs, in the ancient capital of *Ægæ*, having provoked public indignation, embittered by religious abhorrence⁷. Their execrable impiety, in thus violating the manes of the dead, made their expulsion from Macedon a matter of universal interest and easy execution: and Pyrrhus' ill conducted enterprise for recovering that kingdom, only established more firmly the throne of Antigonus.

From this time forward Antigonus reigned twenty-seven years with little molestation at home, and without taking any part in the affairs of Egypt and Syria, the two great rival powers in the empire. He formed for himself a system apart, in the conducting of which Philip, father of Alexander, appears to have been his model. But he wanted the splendid abilities of that elegant as well as politic prince, and even exceeded him in the vileness of those corrupt artifices which constituted the opprobrious part in Philip's character. The great object of his reign was to recover the Macedonian dominion over the divided republics of Greece, several of which he still held by his garrisons, and a still greater number by his profligate partisans among their own citizens. This un-

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Antigonus' reign, and success of his crooked policy. Olymp. cxxvii. 2. B. C. 271.

⁶ Justin, l. xxv. c. 2. & Memnon Excerpt. c. 20. ⁷ Plut. in Pyrrho.

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dertaking was carried on by arms and intrigues, with unwearied attention and unabating activity; and as like temptations engender similar crimes, the struggle of Antigonus against the free cities of Greece, will remind us of the execrable proceedings of the modern tyrants in Italy, whose purposes were attained by address rather than force; and of whose dark and crooked policy, assassination, perfidy, and poison were the ordinary and most successful instruments⁸. For many years the schemes of Antigonus advanced with an unremitted tide of good fortune. In Peloponnesus, Sparta and Argos acknowledged his supremacy; and of the great cities beyond the Isthmus, Thebes was completely humbled; and Athens, taken and garrisoned, notwithstanding the aid of a considerable fleet belonging to Ptolemy Philadelphus⁹.

The small cities of Achaia associate for defence.

Corinth joining them is recovered by a stratagem.

In this situation of public affairs, the first symptoms of steady opposition to the usurpations of Macedon, appeared in the small cities of Achaia, a poor inhospitable district, sixty miles long, and twenty broad, extending along the Corinthian gulph, whose rocky shores, beat by the foaming surge, formed the terror of Grecian mariners. To a few of those cities, which, in expelling their Macedonian garrisons, had associated for common defence, Alexander, the instrument of Antigonus' dominion in Corinth, offended by some act of severity in his master, had added that important emporium, and rendered its commanding citadel, which Philip regarded as the shackles¹⁰ of Peloponnesus, the bulwark of that peninsula. The defection of Alexander was punished by a cup of poison; but this crime proved not immediately useful to Antigonus, since Nicæa, widow to the deceased, assumed the government of Corinth, and administered it with the firm virtues of the other sex, although she was soon to be disgraced and ruined by the silliest weaknesses of her own. Antigonus being apprised of her character, instead of submitting to the tedious formalities of a siege, sent to

⁸ See Machiavel, Guicchiardin, Nerli, Varchi, Malavolta; often entertaining historians, through the singular odiousness of their sub-

jects.

⁹ Pausanias, Lacon. c. vi.

¹⁰ Τας πιδας τας Ελλάδας. Plut. in Arat.

Corinth his son Demetrius, who inherited with the name, CHAP.
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the fair external accomplishments of his grandfather Poliorcetes. The courtship of this young prince was not to be resisted, by an amorous old woman like Nicæa; who, in giving away herself, fondly and absurdly hoped to retain her power: for, amidst the joys of the nuptial festivity, Antigonus surprised and gained the Corinthian citadel, after which event, Nicæa, abandoned by her lover, was left to lament in solitude over the bitter fruits of her credulity, while the contriver of the delusion gave way, it is said, to such excesses of drunken levity, as seemed to indicate that the taking of Corinth had taken away his own understanding ¹¹.

The Achæans soon found in Aratus of Sicyon, abler and worthier protection, than they could ever have expected to derive from Alexander the Corinthian, first the creature, and afterwards the betrayer of a foreign prince. Aratus had in early youth gained the friendship of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by his taste in arts and letters, and had rendered himself highly useful to this learned king of Egypt, by providing him with books and pictures from Sicyon, and other cities of Greece. Ptolemy, whose skill in raising money was only equalled by his judicious liberality in spending it, rewarded his Grecian friend with an accumulation of presents of such value, that in the hands of this generous patriot, they became important subsidies to the Achæan confederacy. Antigonus, through hatred to a man whom he could neither intimidate nor corrupt, endeavoured to bring Aratus into suspicion with his royal benefactor. For this purpose he loaded him with caresses and eulogies; and on one occasion sent to him, from Corinth to Sicyon, a portion of the victims sacrificed at the Isthmian games, which, according to the maxims of that age, constituted the highest mark of respect that a citizen of Greece could receive, from the magistrate presiding in that solemnity. At the same time he ostentatiously boasted,

Aratus of Sicyon—
his connexion with Ptolemy, and opposition to Antigonus. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

¹¹ Τῇ τοῦ κράτους ἡ κατισχύει αὐτόν. Plut. c. 2. in Arat. p. 1034. Conf. Justin. l. xxvi.

CHAP. XI. before the numerous strangers then convened at the Isthmus, of the perfect devotion of Aratus to his interest: that this honest Greek derided with himself the wealth and effeminacy of Ptolemy, and would scorn any longer to be indebted to his insolent bounty. Philadelphus was industriously informed of this discourse; but instead of rashly withdrawing his confidence from Aratus, he, with his usual prudence, informed him of the malicious accusation, and thereby afforded him an opportunity of making a satisfactory defence. The illustrious Sicyonian thus continued to counterwork¹² the designs of Antigonus in Greece; until the latter returned in final disappointment into Macedon, where he died at the age of eighty, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign; leaving to his son Demetrius, a kingdom boldly acquired, and ably defended, but to which notwithstanding his unwearied villanies he failed of restoring its ancient ascendancy over the Grecian republics.

Death of
Antigonus.
Olymp.
cxxiv. 1.
B. C. 244.

Reign of
Antiochus
Soter.
Olymp.
cxxv. 1.—
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 280—
262.

We have seen why Antiochus, king of Syria, entered into a treaty with Antigonus, by which he desisted from his pretensions to the Macedonian crown. Shortly after this transaction, Antiochus attained the brightest glory of his reign, in the great victory over the Gauls in Lesser Asia, from which he derived the title of Soter, the Saviour¹³. Of this victory, however, neither the time nor the place is exactly ascertained, and the principal notice concerning it, is the important service rendered to Antiochus by his elephants, on which account the elephant was assumed as his favourite trophy, and as such, is eminently conspicuous on his coins. The subsequent reign of this second king of Syria, which lasted nineteen years, was tranquil and prosperous in the East; in the West, it was distracted and inglorious. His general, Patrocles, was completely defeated by the Bithynians. Antiochus in person incurred similar disgrace against Eumenes of Pergamus¹⁴. In the plain of Sardes, that petty

¹² Polybius, l. i. c. 43. Conf. Plut. de Zeuxi & Antiocho.
in Arat.

¹⁴ Memnon. apud Phot. p. 718.

¹³ Appian. Syriac. c. 65. & Lucian

prince maintained his independence against the great monarch of the East, and even extorted from Antiochus a large extension of his boundaries ¹⁵.

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The king of Syria was equally unfortunate in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which he was involved by his connexion with Magas, the rebellious governor of Cyrene. Magas was the son Berenice, by a former obscure ¹⁶ husband, before she was married to Ptolemy Soter. He was therefore brother uterine to Philadelphus, and continued by him in his government of Cyrene, which, at his mother's request, he had previously obtained from the father of that prince. But Magas revolted from his brother, and having married Apama daughter to Antiochus Soter, engaged his father-in-law to abet his rebellion, and to acknowledge him as king of Cyrene. In this transaction, the whole advantage was on the side of Magas; the loss redounded to Antiochus; for Ptolemy, whose fleet was the most powerful in the empire, invaded those maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, still subject to Antiochus, and chastised the perfidy of Magas, by dismembering the territories of his ally ¹⁷. In addition to these misfortunes, Antiochus had the mortification of seeing his ancient enemies, the Gauls, domineering in the central provinces of the peninsula. The ravages of those fierce Barbarians reminded him how little he deserved his proud title of Soter. His last engagement with them was fought under the walls of Ephesus, a bloody but undescribed battle, in which he lost his army and his life ¹⁸. During his unhappy reign, public disasters had been embittered by domestic calamities. His beloved Stratonice had been early snatched from his arms. Ptolemy, his eldest son, having acted the part of a rebel, had suffered the death of a traitor ¹⁹. Shortly after

Unfortunate war with Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. cxxix. 1. B. C. 264.

Slain in battle by the Gauls. Olymp. cxxix. 3. B. C. 262.

¹⁵ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

¹⁶ A Macedonian named Philip: this is all we know of him.

¹⁷ Pausanias, Attic. c. vii.

¹⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 42.

¹⁹ Trogi Prolog. l. xxvi. This Syrian Ptolemy is said, to have re-

warded the physician Erasistratus, with an hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds, for curing the father, against whom he afterwards rebelled. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

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this event, Antiochus, imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor, raised his younger son to the throne of the East, in his own life time; a precaution which kept in obedience the upper provinces, notwithstanding his sudden and disastrous death in Lower Asia. Like other contemporary princes, he had illustrated his name by a new city, called Antiochia, in the remote province of Margiana, on the banks of the Oxus²⁰.

Reign of
Antiochus
Theos.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
cxxxiii. 3.
B. C. 261.
246.

Antiochus Soter was succeeded by his son of the same name, who hastening to Syria on the news of his father's death, took possession of that kingdom, and endeavoured to retrieve his affairs in the great neighbouring Peninsula. His warfare with the Gauls was not attended with any decisive event: they continued, after his departure to oppress the inland districts. Antiochus next turned his arms to the valuable southern coast; to Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, which provinces had been wrested from his father, by the fleets of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the early stage of this expedition, the Syrians were successful, and Antiochus acquired his distinguishing title of Theos, the god. The Milesians first flattered him with a sound so grateful to his ear, for having conquered and slain Timarchus, who being appointed governor of Caria, by Ptolemy, had revolted from his master, and fixed the seat of his cruel usurpation at Miletus²¹. After the merit of destroying this upstart tyrant, the remaining fourteen years of Antiochus the god, show him as a prince, equally weak and unfortunate. On the northern coasts of Lesser Asia, the confederate cities of Byzantium and Heraclæa rejected his authority, and disgraced his arms²²; while Ptolemy Philadelphus, after recovering the places which he had recently lost, extended his dominion over the whole southern coast of the penin-

His unfor-
tunate war
with Pto-
lemy Phila-
delpus.

²⁰ Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. The city was seven miles in circuit, and stood near the river Margus, then divided into many canals, for watering the contiguous country, Plin. l. vi. c. 16. Thence, in Isidore de Mar-

giana, we should read *εὐδῆος* not *αντιόχου*; the *irriguous*, not the *dry* Antioch.

²¹ Appian. Syriac. 165.

²² Memnon. apud Phot.

of the peninsula; confirmed it over the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and doubled, as we shall see presently, the natural and intrinsic value of these territories, by the great and solid purposes to which their resources were applied. On the part of Antiochus, the war against Egypt was often renewed with the whole force of his monarchy, but never attended with any continuation of success, and finally concluded in consequence of events most disastrous to the Macedonian empire in the East.

By draining his garrisons in the upper provinces, that he might carry on more effectually hostilities against Ptolemy, Antiochus left the outlying countries of Bactria and Parthia, exposed to the twofold evil of domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. Theodotus the Bactrian, whose name indicates his Grecian descent, first raised the standard of revolt, and adding policy to prowess, gained or subdued the Macedonians and mercenaries who held that country in dependence²³. His example was followed in Parthia, by the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, the elder of whom dying in battle two years afterwards, was succeeded by the younger, who assumed his name and title. We are not informed of the circumstances which immediately occasioned the rebellion in Bactria: but in Parthia, one of the roughest provinces in the empire, crowded by a conflux of Scythian exiles, the materials prepared for combustion were thrown into a flame by the abominable outrage of Agathocles, Antiochus' viceroy, to the person of young Tiridates. In revenge for this insult, the brothers formed a conspiracy against the life of Agathocles, and having slain that brutish tyrant, summoned the Parthians to liberty²⁴. That he might have leisure to suppress these commotions in the East, Antiochus was earnest for an accommodation with Egypt. His eagerness must have been great to attain this object, since he agreed to wed

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Revolt of
Bactria and
Parthia.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 3.
B. C. 254.

Antiochus'
marriage
with Berenice.

²³ Justin, l. xli. c. 4.

Chron. in Not. Justin, l. xli. c. 4.

²⁴ Arrian. Parthic. apud Photium, p. 52. Conf. Georg. Monach.

Edit. Gronov.

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nice
Ptolemy's
daughter.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 1.
B. C. 252.

Antiochus
Theos poi-
soned by
Laodice.

Berenice
and her son
involved in
his fate.
Olymp.
cxxxiii. 3.
B. C. 246.

Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although he had already two sons by his wife and sister Laodice, whom he had solemnly espoused in the first year of his reign²⁵. Neither this dishonourable pacification, nor the death of the elder Arsaces in battle, enabled him to recover his lost authority in Bactria and Parthia, or to prevent the contagion of rebellion from extending to neighbouring provinces of the East. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Berenice became the victim of the treaty of which she had been the bond. She had borne a son to Antiochus, but when the protection of her father was removed, the Syrian king dissolving a marriage, which had been the work of necessity and fear, recalled Laodice to his bed, and reinstated *her* children in their birthrights²⁶. In committing this breach of faith, Antiochus too rashly despised the youth and inexperience of the brother of Berenice, afterwards entitled Euergetes; but his perfidy was punished in the first instance by Laodice for whose sake the guilt of it had been incurred. That princess was no sooner restored to her rank of queen, than she determined that her own dignity and the prospects of her children, should never again become the sport of state policy. Having poisoned her husband, she engaged a Greek named Artemon, who strongly resembled him, to personate Antiochus in a pretended malady, and to name at the seeming approach of death, her elder son Seleucus, as successor to the kingdom. This artifice, which passed unquestioned with the public, escaped not the discernment of Berenice, who, upon the first news of the transaction, fled in haste from Antioch to the neighbouring asylum of Daphnè. In so sacred a retreat, she had reason to expect safety for her infant son and Egyptian attendants; but before they could be rescued by her brother Euergetes, the new king of Egypt, they were all of them seized and murdered together with Berenice herself, by the emissaries of

²⁵ Hieron. in Daniel, c. ix. v. 6.
Appian and Athenæus.

²⁶ Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c.
50. Conf. Appian. Syriac.

her triumphant rival²⁷. These enormities kindled a new war between Ptolemy Euergetes, and Seleucus, entitled Callinicus, who mounted respectively the thrones of Egypt and Syria in the same year²⁸. The empire, while assailed by the Gauls in the West, and by the Parthians in the East, was thus weakened and deformed by the intestine discord of its two principal kingdoms. Syria was the chief sufferer in the conflict, under what may be called the third generation of Alexander's successors; but before we proceed to the events of that period, it remains to examine, with regard to arts as well as arms, the reign of the second Ptolemy in Egypt.

His successful wars in Asia Minor and in Syria have been already *noticed*, for they are no where circumstantially described. He was unfortunate in attempting to rescue Athens from the gripe of Antigonus Gonatas; but this failure he compensated by conquering Ænos and Maronea, Greek cities of great strength²⁹ on the Thracian coast of the Ægean sea, and by gaining possession of the smaller Greek islands³⁰, surrounding Delos in a circular form, and therefore named the Cyclades. For these advantages, Ptolemy was indebted to the superiority of his fleet; and his armies had been equally successful in the Syrian warfare, excited, as we have seen, by the intrigues of Magas, the rebellious viceroy of Cyrenè. After a defection of seven years, that traitor who had usurped the title of king, intimidated by the disasters of his allies, desired to come to an accommodation with his injured brother. For this purpose he offered in marriage his only child, a daughter named Berenicè³¹, to Ptolemy's eldest son: and to invest the proffered bride with the right of sole successor to his dominions. The proposal was accepted, for Magas was in the decline of life: and Philadelphus was not

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Reign of
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.—
cxxxiii. 3.
B. C. 284.
—246.

Marriage
between
Ptolemy's
son, and
Magas's
daughter
Olymp.
cxxx. 3.
B. C. 258

²⁷ Polyænus, *Stratagem.* l. viii. c. 50. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 14. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. & Hieron. in Daniel, c. xi.

²⁸ Conf. Ptolemy in Canon. and

Hieron. in c. ix. Daniel.

²⁹ Polybius, l. v. c. 34.

³⁰ Schol. in Theocrit. *Idyll.* xvii.

³¹ Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

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of a character to contend by arms for what he might more safely acquire by treaty. He agreed, therefore, that Euergetes, the son of a king, should marry Berenice, the daughter of a rebel. Before the consummation of these nuptials, Magas died of excessive corpulency³²; and Berenice still remained at Cyrene, in the power of her mother Apama, daughter of Antiochus Soter, and one of those infamous females, whose profligacy still more disgraced, than their beauty adorned, the thrones of Alexander's successors.

Its consum-
mation re-
tarded by
Apama,
the widow
of Magas—
her profligacy and
trigical
end.

Apama had never consented to a transaction, by which her daughter and herself would have fallen into the hands of the Ptolemies, eternal rivals to the house of Seleucus. To defeat the proposed match of Berenice with Euergetes, she invited from Macedon the younger brother of Antigonus Gonatas, who, together with the name of his father Demetrius³³, inherited his main characteristics of mind and body. The same graces of person, and the same deformities of soul which ruined the father, proved also fatal to the son. Demetrius espoused Berenice, but lived as the husband of Apama. Proud of the love of the mother, and not less of the jealousy of the daughter, and elated with the matrimonial crown of Cyrenè, which he knew not how to wear with decency, he provoked indignation by his insolence, and contempt by his folly. The burst of public revenge was anticipated by a conspiracy in the palace: Berenice conducted the steps, and instigated³⁴ the hands of the assassins: Demetrius was slain in the bed of incestuous adultery; the infamous Apama was spared, and allowed to escape to her brother in Syria, while her injured and now triumphant daughter hastened into Egypt, bringing, as her dower to the Ptolemies, the restored allegiance of her province³⁵.

³² Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550.

³³ This prince must not be confounded with the son of Antigonus, who bore the same name.

³⁴ This transaction is alluded to in Catullus' translation of Callimachus de Coma Berenices,

Aune bonum oblita es facinus
quo regium adeptæ es
Conjugium? v. 27. & seq.
words ill explained by commentators.

³⁵ Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

From the wars of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which were carried on chiefly by his lieutenants, we turn to a more interesting subject, the internal prosperity of his kingdom. If we credit the general testimony of antiquity, Egypt, during his long and enlightened reign, attained a degree of wealth and splendour unexampled in any kingdom before or afterwards. To avoid confusion in this copious subject, I shall first briefly state the wonderful reports delivered down to us. I shall then endeavour to bring together the circumstances hinted at, rather than explained, from which Ptolemy's real prosperity flowed.

Transition
from foreign
wars to the in-
ternal state
of Egypt.

The first testimony to be adduced is that of a poet, contemporary with Ptolemy, and writing in the learned capital of that prince. Theocritus will tell us that, in his own happy age, Egypt was governed by equal laws³⁶, defended by invincible armies, and at once the best cultivated, and the most commercial kingdom on earth; that the sway of his king and patron extended over more than thirty thousand cities or towns, flourishing in useful arts³⁷; that his fleets, on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, carried on a most extensive traffic; and that a country, which had long languished under the barbarous yoke of Persia in the humiliation of a province, again resumed more than her pristine splendour, exercising a legitimate, because useful dominion over the islands of Greece, the seaports of Asia, and even the outlying and almost inaccessible regions of Libya, Arabia, and Ethiopia³⁸. For the dazzling rays of poetry and panegyric, should we desire to substitute the more sober light of history, we must have recourse to Appian, a native of Alexandria, who gov-

Reports of
ancient au-
thors of
Theocri-
tus.

Of Appian.

³⁶ The best proof of this was the cheerful industry of the people, λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περιστλάουσιν ἐκήλοισι. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 93.

³⁷ Οὐδε τις ἀσία τοσσην ἔχει ἔργα δαιντων. The latter words should seem to imply, that his cities (Vid. Theocrit. *ibid.*) were what we should call manufacturing towns: but in

whatever sense the word is taken, the number is prodigious. Ancient Italy, in the most flourishing times, boasted only eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 16. and Gaul contained nearly the same number of villages. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iii. c. 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.* v. 86. & seq.

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Military
establish-
ment of
Egypt.

Navy.

Treasury.

erned Egypt early in the first century after Christ. Appian is an historian eminent for fidelity; he was master of the archives of Egypt, to which he appeals as his authority; and he could have no reasonable motive for exaggerating the wealth and power of a country over which he was præfect, and for the employment and improvement of whose resources, he was accountable to his masters Trajan and Hadrian, the Roman emperors. According to Appian, Philadelphus' army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, forty thousand horse, three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots³⁹. His arsenals were copiously stored with all sorts of military engines, and with armour for three hundred thousand men, in addition to those which he actually had on foot. His navy was not less magnificent, consisting of a hundred and twelve ships of an uncommon size, from galleys of five to others of thirty-five tier of oars: his trireme and quadrireme galleys amounted to fifteen hundred; he had two thousand armed vessels of a smaller size: above four thousand Egyptian merchantmen navigated the Mediterranean; and the Nile gloried in the pompous weight of eight hundred resplendent barges, adorned with idols of gold on their prows and sterns. The naval magazines of Ptolemy were still better stored than the military; since in the former he had every thing necessary for the equipment of double the number of galleys⁴⁰ actually fitted out. Yet those mighty fleets and armies did not exhaust his more stupendous treasury: which, at the time of his death, amounted to seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian talents⁴¹, exceeding in value a hundred and ninety millions sterling; a sum, of which not indeed modern accumulation, but modern profusion only, can help us to form a notion. In the zenith of Roman

³⁹ Vid. Appian. Hist. Roman. in Proëm.

⁴⁰ It should seem that the numerous swarms of pirates (of which more hereafter) obliged the Egyptians to carry on commerce in armed vessels. This I infer from the small proportion of round ships, or mer-

chantmen, in the enumeration above given. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. In England, I believe, we have not more than a thousand ships of war; while our ships of commerce exceed twenty thousand.

⁴¹ Appian. in Proëm. c. x.

greatness, the magnificence of the second Ptolemy still continued proverbial, and the epithet of Philadelphian was employed to characterize those works preeminent in preciousness of material, or in nobleness of design⁴². Without accumulating ancient authorities, or attempting precisely to ascertain how far some circumstances are exaggerated, I shall briefly enumerate the peculiarities in Ptolemy's reign, which have a tendency to confirm the general evidence of antiquity; which will always be of easiest reception, among men of candid minds, and enlarged experience.

In the preceding pages of this work, we have seen the fleets of his father and himself gradually attain an unrivalled superiority. This advantage was heightened by the acquisition of Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, in a word, the whole southern coast of Lesser Asia, in addition to Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, which had been long appendages to Egypt. Without taking into the account Cyrene, the Cyclades, and the seaports on the coast of Thrace, we know from the description formerly given of all those countries, that their timber and iron, their harbours and sailors, contained the materials of a vast naval force; which we shall see presently were improved by the Ptolemies, with equal activity and judgment. But while the conquests of these princes supplied them with this great instrument of opulence and power, the unceasing wars in Greece, the ravages of the Gauls in Lower Asia, and the tumults excited by the Parthians, in the upper provinces, continually brought new accessions of industrious and peaceful subjects to Egypt, in which country alone, men enjoyed complete security, fearing no enemies from abroad, and being governed at home justly and mildly⁴³. To these advantages, the magnitude of which it is not easy to limit, Ptolemy added a benefit accruing from the peculiar habits and character of his Egyptian subjects,

Circumstances which have a tendency to confirm those reports. Ptolemy's extensive dominions.

Troubles in other countries brought great accessions of wealth and population to Egypt.

Industrious habits of the Egyptians.

⁴² 'Ου (πτολιμαν) και μεχρι νυν αδεται το κλειος : ως ηδη και εν παροιμιας ιδειταις υποβοηθως φιλοτιμιας και μεγαλας κατασκευας φιλαδελφειας καλεισθαι, Phil.

Judæus de Vita Mosis.

⁴³ Ου γαρ τις δυνει, &c. See the beautiful lines. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 100. & seq.

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who notwithstanding many pernicious prejudices, which he was careful to correct or soften, had appeared from the earliest times, an ingenious and courteous people, of great temperance and sobriety, capable of unwearied application to the useful arts, and abundantly supplying by their agriculture and manufactures, the necessities and accommodations of themselves and neighbours.

Advanta-
ges accru-
ing to
Egypt
from Ethio-
pia and
Arabia.

To the southern neighbours of Egypt, the Arabians and Ethiopians, Ptolemy directed the most vigilant attention. Those nations, as we have seen, had immemorially traded with India for spice; and were themselves peculiarly rich, Arabia in perfumes, Ethiopia in gold. By his admiral, Timosthenes the Rhodian, Ptolemy early navigated the Red Sea, examined the harbours of Adel, beyond the straits of Babelmandeb⁴⁴, and explored the coast of Africa to Ophir, or Sofala, the land of gold, opposite to the coast of Madagascar. The boldness of such an undertaking will not allow us to suppose that he neglected treasures more within his reach. Ethiopia above Egypt united the greatest wealth with the greatest wretchedness, and comprehended a variety of nations, with peculiarities so discordant, that according to an ancient writer, the true description of any one people must have appeared incredible, not only to remote strangers, but to its immediate neighbours⁴⁵. The singular view of these contrasting nations was opened to the curiosity of the Greeks in the reign of the two first Ptolemies, particularly Philadelphus, who founded a city near the Red Sea, called Ptolemais Ferarum⁴⁶, nearly as far to the south of Syene, the extremity of Egypt, as Syene itself is distant from the mouths of the Nile. The purpose of this settlement, it is said, was to hunt the elephant, and to catch him alive for the service of war, and the pomp of processions. But this design was at first opposed by the natives, worthy ancestors of the modern Shangalla, who delighted in hamstringing this huge and

⁴⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 773.

apud Photium, p. 1362.

⁴⁵ Agatharchides de Mari Rubro

⁴⁶ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 769.

innocent tenant of their plains, in dissecting his brawny members, and in greedily devouring his live flesh; a kind of food to them so delicious that they assured Ptolemy, they would not barter its enjoyment for all the treasures of Egypt⁴⁸. The king however, partly succeeded in reforming this horrid usage of those woolly-headed Barbarians, as appears from the vast number of elephants which he drew from their country.

In the intermediate space of about four hundred miles between Syene and the hunting seat for wild beasts, Ptolemy among many other cities built Berenice distinguished by the epithet of "golden" from other places named after his beloved mother. The neighbourhood of this southern Berenice contained rich mines of gold, which had been wrought with much profit by the ancient Egyptian kings, but in which all labour had been suspended during the desolating dominion of the Persians. In these mines the Greeks still found copper tools of old employed by the original workmen, but substituted, in their stead, more efficacious tools of iron. A description of their operations is given under the sixth Ptolemy, entitled Philometor, when the mines perhaps were much exhausted, and when the painful labour was confined to criminals or slaves⁴⁹. Their produce, it may be presumed, was in former reigns much greater, and particularly when they were managed by the agents of Philadelphus, who, as of all men he had the most liberality and taste in employing wealth, is said also to have been of all the most skilful and most fortunate in acquiring it⁵⁰.

There is historical evidence that Ptolemy traded directly to India, though this trade was carried on by a small number of vessels⁵¹. Such however as it was, it prevented the monopoly which might otherwise have been enjoyed by the Sabæans in the great articles of spices and perfumes. By his ships on the Red Sea, Ptolemy carried on a lucrative com-

Gold mines
of Berenice
Panchry-
sos.

Indian
trade.

⁴⁸ Agatharchides, *ibid.* p. 1356.

Phot. p. 1339. & seq.

⁴⁹ Diodorus Siculus, l. iii. s. 12. & seq. Conf. Agatharchides apud

⁵⁰ Appian. *Hist. Rom.* in *Proem.*

⁵¹ Strabo, l. ii. p. 118.

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merce with Yemen and Adel, respectively the finest districts in Arabia and Ethiopia; and the traffic of pepper, aromatics, pearls, and gold, whose caravans anciently raised the stupendous inland capitals of Thebes and Memphis, now enriched by numerous fleets the maritime emporium of Alexandria⁵². By his judicious arrangements in this city, and the help of his subservient allies in Rhodes, Ptolemy introduced an easier communication than had formerly subsisted between the east and west; and, by commanding the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, finished, as it were, two arms of the vast commercial colossus which Alexander had rough-hewn or projected, and which, had that conqueror lived a few years longer, he would have reared entire to the unspeakable benefit of posterity.

(Ptolemy's
canal of
little bene-
fit to trade.

From his predilection for maritime traffic, Ptolemy undertook several projects of a doubtful nature; of more ostentation, at least, than use. Among these I should be inclined to number his boasted canal by which the Red Sea was made to communicate with the Mediterranean; a canal begun by Sesostris, carried on but left imperfect by Darius, and which Ptolemy alone is said to have had the skill to finish⁵³. This was effected by means of locks or sluices, without infecting the fresh waters of the Nile with saltness, or exposing the low land of Egypt to inundation; both which consequences were dreaded from the superior elevation of the Red Sea. According to Herodotus⁵⁴, who says that Darius really completed the work, this canal was drawn, from Bubastis on the Nile, fifty-six miles in a southwest direction to Arsinoë, the modern Suez, at which place it entered the Red Sea. After being choked up as at present, it was successively repaired by the Emperor Trajan, and by the Caliph Omar, but there is not any proof that it ever remained open for any

⁵² Conf. Appian in Proœm. & Schol. in Theocrit.

Diodorus, l. i. s. 3. & Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 29.

⁵³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Conf.

⁵⁴ l. ii. c. 158.

considerable time⁵⁵; and the navigation of it seems to have been speedily abandoned by Ptolemy himself, since he was at great expense in establishing caravan communications between the Red Sea and the Nile, first from Berenice in the parallel of Syene, and next from the more northerly and more convenient harbour of Myos Hormos⁵⁶. From both these harbours roads led to Coptos on the Nile; the road from Myos Hormos to Coptos was provided with caravanseries at each station, and with a canal for supplying the travelling merchants and their camels with fresh water. As the distance was inconsiderable; and the commodities transported of great value, this route was deemed preferable to a dangerous and circuitous navigation to Alexandria⁵⁷.

From the earliest ages the natives of Egypt had carried on a great inland commerce with Ethiopia and Arabia. But their religious horror for the sea, and especially for a seafaring life, prevented them from availing themselves to the utmost of this traffic. Egypt was in some measure the China of antiquity, in whose harbours the Phœnicians and Greeks successively gained great riches, while the inhabitants of the country declining all maritime concerns, neither sold their own commodities to the best advantage, nor purchased foreign articles at the cheapest rate. The Ptolemies completely changed this pernicious system; they traded with their own ships to all the ports of the Mediterranean: Tyre had already fallen, and Carthage soon fell with the rise of Alexandria, whose central situation cooperated with other circumstances in giving to it a decided preeminence as a great maritime emporium. Sensible of this advantage, the second Ptolemy should seem to have determined, towards the end of his reign, to carry on entirely by the Red Sea the caravan trade which had formerly subsisted between the cities of Egypt on one hand, and those of Ethiopia on the other.

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Harbours
on the Red.
Sea.

Ptolemy's
design of
changing
into a mari-
time com-
merce the
caravan
trade be-
tween
Egypt and
Ethiopia.

⁵⁵ See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 478.

north of the Berenice here meant.

⁵⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815.

⁵⁶ Myos Hormos is 250 miles

CHAP. XI. **Picture of the nations between the Red Sea and the Nile.** In a former part of this work⁵⁸, we explained how that rich traffic was managed by the intervention of the Agazi or shepherds, Nomadic inhabitants of the intermediate desert of Nubia. The intercourse at different periods had been disturbed by the misfortunes of Egypt, and nearly destroyed by the outrageous tyranny of Cambyses, and the sanguinary persecution of the priests of that country under the Persian domination. The shepherds, who had been peaceful auxiliaries to the priestly merchants of Thebes and Meroe, as they ceased to be employed as carriers in trade, had betaken themselves to petty warfare and robbery. Philadelphus and his immediate successor restrained their ravages, invaded and examined their country; and in order to wean them from their predatory and wandering life, formed settlements and built towns in the territory between Syene the extremity of Egypt, and Meroe the first city of Ethiopia. The learned men who lived at this period, and from whose works the names of otherwise unknown places are copied by Strabo⁵⁹ and Pliny⁶⁰, probably first examined with a philosophic eye the strange nations afterwards described by Agatharchides between the Red Sea and the Nile; those called Ichthyophagi and Acridophagi from the fishes and the locusts on which they respectively fed; other tribes contented with the juncos growing in their marshes, and often browsing on tender twigs; the fiercer Shangalla hunting the elephant and rhinoceros; the Troglodytes burrowing in the elevated rocky chain that runs parallel with the Red Sea, divided into many tribes mostly pastoral, who are compelled to perpetual changes of abode in consequence of the periodic rains which fall at different seasons on the opposite sides of their mountains⁶¹. Could they withstand these desolating floods, another mischief would force them to wander. This is the zimb or fly, im-

⁵⁸ See vol. i. p. 76.

⁵⁹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. p 820, 821.

⁶⁰ Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 39.

⁶¹ Vid. Agatharchid. apud Phot.

p. 1345—1359. Compare throughout Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.

properly described by Agatharchides, though its effects are recognised by him. It is larger than a bee, and its upper and lower jaws are armed with stings, or piercers which, being joined together, form a weapon equal in resistance to a hedgehog's bristle. As soon as the tropical rains begin to fall, this buzzing plague infests all the animals pasturing on the black loomy soil. The cattle forsake their food, and run about wildly, till entirely overcome by fear, fatigue, and famine. No expedient is of use but an immediate removal from their rich pastures, to the sands of Atbara, which the river Astaboras separates from the isle of Meroe. The camel greatly facilitates these journeys which are necessary to its own safety; for neither the camel, the elephant, nor even the scaly rhinoceros can resist the incessant assaults of this winged assassin ⁶¹.

In this great tract of territory the inhabitants are thus compelled by physical causes to perpetual migration; their country itself is also generally unfit for agriculture, being alternately deluged by rains and scorched by the sun. Between these extremes there is in many places no remission, for the rains have scarcely ceased, when the soil is so hardened and cracked by the heat, that it refuses nourishment to the fading grass⁶². It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ptolemies, in assigning fixed habitations to Nomades so circumstanced, too little respected the immutable ordinances of nature. Accordingly we are told by Pliny, that not a vestige of any of the cities, which they built in the country between Egypt and Abyssinia, subsisted in the reign of the emperor Nero⁶⁴. Their endeavour to inure the Nomades to agriculture or sedentary arts, appears however, to have been part of a plan for drawing to themselves by the way of the Red Sea the commerce immemorially carried on by land between the priests of Egypt and Ethiopia. In the reign of Philadelphus, Ergamenes king of Meroe, being instructed in Greek philosophy, derided the superstition of his country,

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Abortive project of the Ptolemies to reduce the Nomades in those countries to an agricultural life.

Their views in that project.

⁶² Bruce, *ibid.*

1357.

⁶³ *Id. ibid.* & Agatharchides, p.

⁶⁴ A. D. 54. Plin. *ubi supra.*

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and destroyed, in their golden temple, those wealthy and powerful priests, who had hitherto kept in subjection both prince and people⁶⁵. We are not told that Philadelphus had any share in that wicked transaction; yet the ruin of the priests, who were the main adventurers in this Ethiopian traffic, at the same time that the Nomades, its carriers, were reduced to fixed seats, should seem to indicate that these were correlative parts of one great design for bringing the trade into a new channel.

Great accession of inhabitants to Egypt in the reign of the two first Ptolemies.

It has already been observed, that a benefit accruing to Egypt, during the reign of the two first Ptolemies, of which it is not easy to limit the extent, consisted in the accession of wealthy and industrious inhabitants to that kingdom from all the other most considerable divisions of the empire. It will give us some notion of the multitudes of useful labourers in the coarser occupations of life, who flocked to a country affording to them encouragement as well as security, if we reflect on the great number of men of letters, philosophers, historians, and poets; and of the still more numerous professors or cultivators of the arts of imitation or design, which rendered Alexandria, in the space of half a century, the first city in the world in point of show and elegance as well as of wealth and learning.

Three poetical constellations.

In the reign of Philadelphus, poets of great merit in the eyes at least of their contemporaries, flourished in such abundance, that they were fancifully grouped into constellations. There was a constellation of comic⁶⁶ writers, whose light has been long extinct; there was another of tragedians⁶⁷, which has experienced the same fate, unless we ascribe to this class the Cassandra of Lycophron, which, consisting in the narrative of a single person, introduced and concluded by a few verses in dialogue, can only be regarded as a tragic monody. Lycophron; therefore, more fitly holds place in the constellation of miscellaneous poets, the famous Pleiades,

⁶⁵ Diodor. l. iii. s. 6.

⁶⁷ Hephæstion Encheirid.

⁶⁶ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 654.

whose names and countries are thus enumerated⁶⁸: Aratus of Soli in Cilicia; Callimachus of Cýrene; Theocritus the Sicilian; Apollonius, called the Rhodian, though really born in Egypt; Lycophron of Chalcis in Eubæa; Nicander of Colophon, and the younger Homer, whose birthplace is said to have been Hieropolis, but which of the various cities of that name, as none of his productions remain, it would be now idle to dispute. The six first named stars in the Pleiades, on the contrary, still emit a light more or less feeble, and which, through the happy invention of printing, will continue henceforward to shine undiminished to the latest posterity.

Aratus is the author of a poem in two parts, the former describing the celestial phenomena, and the latter explaining the useful signs or prognostics that may be deduced from them. The work is didactic, allowing little scope for the beauties of poetry; yet the positions and configurations of the Great and Little Bear, of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and of other remarkable constellations, are represented and adorned with harmonious heroic numbers; and the opening of Aratus' *Phenomena* is more sublime than that of Virgil's *Georgic*; with less variety, perhaps, and fancy, but breathing a strain of far more rational piety⁶⁹. His own proficiency in geometry and astronomy is said to have been inconsiderable⁷⁰; but he had before him Eudoxus' "Mirror of the Heavens," above mentioned; and was assisted by men of science, his contemporaries and friends⁷¹ at Alexandria. That his work was highly prized by the ancients, is evinced in its illustrious translators; Cicero, Ovid, and Cæsar Germanicus: it was soon commented on by upwards of forty scholiasts⁷². The subject, indeed, so interesting to mariners, was peculiarly well adapted to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with

⁶⁸ Isaac Tzetzes in Lycophron. *Prolegom. Conf.* Vossius de *Hist. Græc.* l. i. c. 12.

⁶⁹ It is cited by St Paul, *Acts*, c. xvii. v. 28

⁷⁰ Constat inter doctos, hominem ignarum astrologiæ ornatissimis

atque optimis versibus Aratum de cælo et stellis scripsisse. Cicero de *Orator.*

⁷¹ Thus assisted, Thomson wrote his poem to the memory of Newton.

⁷² Fabricius *Bib. Græc.* l. iii. c. 18

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whom the extension of maritime commerce was a favourite object. But sailors have long enjoyed better helps in directing their course; and the dry poem of Aratus has lost its popularity with its usefulness. By his contemporaries, the author was highly respected in life; and honoured in death with a pompous funeral at Soli, afterwards named Pompeiopolis, his birthplace; where a noble mausoleum ⁷³ was erected to perpetuate his fame ⁷⁴.

Callima-
chus.

Callimachus is praised by one of the most discerning of critics ⁷⁵ as the prince of elegiac poets. He is now known by six hymns, (one only in elegiac verse), and sixty-two epigrams. He was a very miscellaneous writer in prose as well as verse, and is said to have composed eight hundred pieces ⁷⁶. He treated subjects of history, geography, antiquities, philosophy, natural and moral; above all, philology and criticism. But though his productions were wondrous for their number, his whole works were not considerable in magnitude ⁷⁷. This was matter of reproach among his more ponderous rivals, to whom his reply, became proverbial, that "a great book is a great evil." His most celebrated treatise in prose was his "Table of Authors," in one hundred and twenty books. In this table or catalogue, authors were divided into their different classes; poets, orators, historians, philosophers, critics; the poets, for example, were again divided into epic, tragic, and various other kinds. A short biography was given of each writer, with a summary account of his works, carefully separating the spurious from those undoubtedly genuine ⁷⁸. An undertaking of such an extensive nature, how judiciously soever it might be executed, could scarcely fail to be, in many parts, liable to objection. We find accordingly that Aristophanes, an Alexandrian philologer of the succeeding age, composed a new literary table, with many sharp animadversions on that of Callimachus ⁷⁹.

⁷³ Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 13.

⁷⁴ Ovid supplies the best inscription;
Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus
crit. Amor. l. i. Eleg. 15.

⁷⁵ Quintilian, l. x. c. 1.

⁷⁶ Suidas.

⁷⁷ Athenæus, l. i. sub init.

⁷⁸ Suidas.

⁷⁹ Athenæus, l. ix. p. 408.

Of the remains of this author, which have come down to us, the epigrams, whether dedicated to the purposes of satire or eulogy, are too slight performances to support much weight of fame; and his hymns, terse and elegant⁸⁰ as they are, and highly popular as they once were, necessarily sunk in renown after Christianity had put to rout the rabble of imaginary gods to whom they are addressed.

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Theocritus, the friend of Aratus⁸¹, enjoys an advantage above his poetical contemporaries, in having chosen, in his pastorals, subjects alike adapted to all ages and countries. Though he lived and wrote in Egypt, his mind is warmly impressed with the more picturesque scenery of his native Sicily. He sounds his Doric reed with an art that adorns, without altering, the simplicity of nature. If we except a few coarse expressions, growing out of the depraved manners of the times, his Idyls are the happiest productions in their way; and succeeding poets, not excepting Virgil himself, have failed in their attempts to improve on and embellish them.

Theocritus.

Apollonius, surnamed the Rhodian because adopted into that state, had been the friend and favourite scholar of Callimachus. But offended friendship was converted into the bitterest enmity. Callimachus boasted his descent from the royal house of Cyrene⁸²; and his kingly pride taking umbrage at some disrespectful proceeding in his pupil, lashed him in a poem entitled Ibis⁸³, with the utmost severity of satire. To avoid literary persecution in Alexandria, Apollonius sailed to Rhodes, a republic then intimately allied with Egypt. In this island, he polished and elaborated his poem on the Argonautic expedition, of which various parts had

⁸⁰ Battia des toto semper cantabitur orbe;

Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.

Ovid ubi supra.

⁸¹ Theocritus' sixth Idyl is addressed to Aratus; whose loves also are spoken of in the seventh.

⁸² Thence called Battia des from

king Battus, see above, c. iii. p. 269.

⁸³ The name of an Egyptian bird, resembling the stork. Ovid's Ibis is well known. He imitates throughout Callimachus; and his redundancy of learning gives, in this particular, a just notion of many lost works of Alexandrian poets.

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previously been recited at Alexandria, and heard with more censure than applause. Having finished the work to his own satisfaction, Appollonius submitted it to the umpires of taste among the Rhodians, by whom it was so highly approved, that the author was associated to the immunities and honours of their city, then, next to Athens and Alexandria, the most learned in the world. Elated with this testimony in his favour, he returned to the place of his birth; gradually surmounted the difficulties to which he had before yielded; and finally attained, in advanced age, the highest object of his ambition, having succeeded to the celebrated Eratosthenes, of whom we shall speak presently, in the superintendence of the museum and library⁸⁴. To this distinction, his sole title, that can now be appreciated, was derived from the poem above mentioned. It consists of four books in hexameter verse, and recounts the voyages and transactions of the Argonauts in numbers never creeping on the ground, and never soaring to the skies. Its prominent defect is that of flowing with too unvaried a mediocrity⁸⁵. It has more description than passion, more refinement than loftiness, and more art than nature. Yet the pangs and struggles of Appollonius' lovesick Medea, are imitated by Virgil in the melancholy grandeur and dignified weakness of Dido; and the solemn picture of night, contrasting the tumults in the queen's breast with the still and motionless silence of all around her, is faithfully copied from the Alexandrian poet; who, though Virgil be always the more majestic, is sometimes the more affecting⁸⁶.

Lycophron.

The dimmest star in the poetic Pleiades is the muddy⁸⁷ and mysterious Lycophron. Neither the oracular responses

⁸⁴ Suidas.⁸⁵ Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. agreeing with Longinus, s. 33.⁸⁶ His sentiments appear to me also sometimes more delicate, and his notions more refined, than those of either Homer or Virgil. Thus Hercules prefers Jason to himself, and Jason grieves for the woes of

others more than for his own. Argonaut. l. ii. v. 637. For the second point, witness what blind Phenias says of a future state, "that he will then be delighted with splendour, &c. l. ii. v. 448,

⁸⁷ Carmina, Battiadæ, tenebræ-que Lycophronis *atri*.

Statius

of Delphi, nor the Sibylline ⁸⁸ verses, nor other parallel productions of priestcraft and superstition had yet been combined among the Greeks into any long continued texture of prophetic poetry. At length the Cassandra of Lycophron made its appearance, in the same age when the Hebrew volumes being first unrolled to profane view, might be expected to excite this unequal competition and feeble rivalry of the Muses. But the hallowed strains of Sion, defying imitation in their awful sublimity, are far surpassed by Lycophron in elaborate darkness. By Cassandra or Alexandra, for his prophetess had both names, heroes and gods are denoted by their emblems or achievements; a legendary tale is substituted for the description of a country; events are crowded in endless succession; the bounds of space and time are enlarged or contracted at pleasure, and even the distinct provinces of our senses, of all things the most clearly separate in themselves, are amalgamated and confounded ⁸⁹ in the melting furnace of an overheated fancy. Amidst all this wildness of disorder, Cassandra commencing with the ill-fated voyage of Paris to Lacedæmon, sketches out, however, the general history of the Trojan war, expatiating on the disasters which followed it. She next adverts, in the darkest imagery, to the two great original causes of hostility between the eastern and western continents; the rape of Europa and the expedition of the Argonauts: and then traces these original landmarks, and exuberant fountains of fable, through all the occurrences connected with them, down to the Ptolemean age. After repeated perusals, Lycophron, according to associations created by differences of studies and pursuits, will appear to some readers altogether unworthy of the pains necessary to be bestowed on him; by others, when its difficulties are surmounted, the

⁸⁸ The Sibylla was an Eolian: her name, derived from two Greek words in the Eolian dialect, *σιβυς* and *κυλη*, denoted her character of prophetess. Her supposed verses, it is well known, became a state engine among the Romans, descended, as

will be shown, from the Eolians.

⁸⁹ Flashes are heard and shrieks are seen.

Οι μωγη δὲ μοι

Εἰ σοὶ πυργῶν ἐξ ἀκρῶν ἰδᾷται.

Alexand. v. 254.

CHAP. XI. Cassandra will be prized as a rich mythological epitome, in the richest and most beautiful of all languages.

Nicander. Nicander of Colophon is commonly numbered as the seventh and last of the Pleiades. He wrote Georgics⁹⁰ and Metamorphoses⁹¹; but his remains are now reduced to two compositions in heroic verse, to which Plutarch denies⁹² the rank of poems, because they are altogether destitute of poetical invention. Both treat of poisons; the first, of those communicated externally, by the bite or sting of animals: the second, of those applied internally, or received into the stomach. Such subjects were interesting in Egypt, a country abounding in venemous reptiles: they were important in other parts of the empire, disgraced by too much practice, as well as theory, in the art of preparing poisons.

The four schools.

Of medicine.

In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the four new schools of Alexandria, owing their establishment to the preceding reign, continued to flourish in great vigour: namely, those of grammar, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. In the last named of these departments, the physicians Erasistratus and Herophilus were succeeded by Philinus and Serapion. Philinus carried on the labours of his predecessors with so much success, that he is deemed the founder of the empiric or experimental sect⁹³. Serapion, his contemporary, and a native of Alexandria, enjoyed high celebrity; and from this time forward, the science of medicine struck such deep root in that city, and received so many improvements from the professors or practitioners there, that a physician was much recommended in all succeeding ages of antiquity, by the circumstance of having prosecuted his studies in the Egyptian capital.

Of geometry and astronomy.

Concerning the geometers, who immediately followed Euclid, there is much obscurity, till the light breaks forth in Apollonius and Archimedes, of whom, as belonging to a later period, we shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

⁹⁰ Cicero De Orator. De rebus rusticis Nicander scripsit praeclare.

⁹¹ Schol. in Apollon. l. i. et Athe-

naus, l. iii. p. 82.

⁹² De audiend. poetis.

⁹³ Galen. tom. iv. p. 572.

The astronomers Aristillus and Timocharis found a worthy successor in Aristarchus of Samos. An observation of Aristarchus at Alexandria applies to the year⁹⁴ two hundred and eighty-one before the Christian era, that is, to the fourth year of Philadelphus' reign. He is the author of a work concerning the distances and magnitudes of the sun and moon⁹⁵, in which, he enlarged the boundaries of the solar system; and though his conclusions on this subject remained far short of the truth, they yet convinced him of the stability of the sun, and of the diurnal and annual motions of the earth⁹⁶. It was objected to him, that upon the supposition of the earth's motion, the fixed stars, as viewed from this wandering world, must be continually changing their position with regard to each other. He answered by saying, that the whole of the earth's orbit round the sun was little better than a point in comparison of the heavens. Such doctrines exposed Aristarchus to the censure of men who assumed the name of philosophers, but who, as we have seen, were mere sectaries. Cleanthes, deemed the prince of the Stoics in that age, accused⁹⁷ him of shaking with rude impiety the throne of Vesta, an ancient and venerable goddess, since daughter to Saturn and Rhea⁹⁸. To Vesta, besides, an important function was assigned. She was the patroness of fixed habitations, of settled or civilized life. Her domain was near the earth's center; and her sacred seat was always represented firm and immovable⁹⁹. By this and other objections, scarcely more weighty, the philosophy of Aristarchus was repressed through many succeeding centuries. At length, however it emerged by its native merit. Tables more perfect than those of which he had set the example, were constructed of the distances and motions of the planets, from the contemplation of which Kepler in 1680 discovered that

CHAP.
XI.Aristarchus of
Samos.⁹⁴ Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax.

et seq. Conf. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1.

⁹⁵ Aristarch. de magnitud. et distant. Solis et Lunæ in Oper. Wallzii, Oxon. 1699.⁹⁷ Plutarch de Facie in Orb. Lunæ p. 923.⁹⁸ Hesiod. Theogon.⁹⁶ Archimæd. in Psammit. p. 120.⁹⁹ Ovid. Fast. l. vi.

CHAP. the squares of their periodic times are proportional to the
 XI. — cubes of their mean distances. This law, together with that of falling bodies previously ascertained by Galileo, prepared the way for the astronomy of the great Newton, which the labours of the Alexandrian school, particularly of Apollonius and Archimedes, perfected by his own admirable sagacity, enabled that incomparable geometer to establish on strict mathematical demonstration.

Mixed mathematics.

Before the establishment of that school, philosophers were acquainted¹⁰⁰ with the rectilinear propagation of light, the equality between the angles of incidence and reflection, and that great principle of moving force, according to which weight is balanced by velocity; a principle expanded or ramified in what are called the five mechanic powers. On the basis of these observations or facts, they began to rear the fabric of mixed mathematics; light, matter, and motion were subjected to the search of their own severe geometry: and great proficiency was attained in all those ingenious arts, which, either in peace or war, form the most unequivocal distinction between civilized and barbarous nations; and whose highest reaches of improvement were conspicuous in their military works and engines, as well as in their great civil monuments. In the latter years of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the most distinguished engineer was Ctesibius¹⁰¹, a native of Ascræ in Bœotia, the birthplace of old Hesiod. His scholars were Beto and Hero, whose treatises on the construction of missile weapons have come down to modern times. Hero's books on pneumatic and hydraulic machines are also preserved, and highly deserving of attention, although, in this work, the moving powers of water and air are employed in producing effects rather surprising than useful. Fragments also remain of his treatise on Automata, or self moving figures. In the hands of Hero, and still more of his successors, science thus came

The engineers Ctesibius and Hero

¹⁰⁰ See my New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy.

¹⁰¹ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. Conf.

Vitruvius Architect. in Præfat. l. vii. & Plin. l. vii. c. 37

to be directed to the purposes of recreation and pastime; and on this score chiefly was patronized, as we shall see, by the latter Egyptian and Syrian kings: princes unfit for business, and often addicted to the most childish amusements.

At the head of the grammarians in this reign, it is fit to place Eratosthenes, though he flourished towards the latter part of it, and was first appointed to preside over the museum and library under the third Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes. Though he is called a grammarian, synonymous in those days with the name of philologer or critic, he attained great eminence as a philosopher and mathematician; and if not an admired poet, was at least a writer of correct and elegant verses ¹⁰². His chronological canons are praised by one of the most accurate of historians ¹⁰³. He was an improver of geography as well as of chronology. He was the first who traced a parallel of latitude, regulated by the day's greatest length: namely, 14.5 hours. This parallel passed from the pillars of Hercules through the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, the island of Rhodes, and then forward through the great eastern regions of Assyria and Ariana to the mountains of India ¹⁰⁴. Eratosthenes measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, and ascertained with a considerable degree of accuracy the circumference of the earth at 250,000 stadia ¹⁰⁵; about 25,000 miles. He also invented the armillæ, a combination of circles representing the celestial sphere. This valuable instrument of science he erected in the great portico

¹⁰² Longin. de Sublim. s. 33.

¹⁰³ Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 60.

¹⁰⁴ Strabo, l. ii. p. 67. et seq.

¹⁰⁵ The segment of the Meridian chosen for this purpose was that between Alexandria and Syene places distant from each other 500 stadia. Having obtained this measure from Ptolemy's surveyors, (per mēsores regios Ptolemæi. Martian Capella, l. vi. p. 194), and knowing that Syene lay directly under the northern tropic,

he waited the time when the sun was vertical at Syene to observe a style raised from the bottom of a concave sphere at Alexandria, and finding the shadow projected on the spherical concavity to be a fiftieth part of the whole circumference, he concluded the 500 stadia between Syene and Alexandria to be a fiftieth part of the circumference of a great circle of the earth. Cleomedes de Globi terrestris Mensura.

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XL

of Alexandria, where it was used by succeeding astronomers in observing the equinoxes, and in determining, without the aid of trigonometry, the longitude and latitude of stars ¹⁰⁶. Notwithstanding these important pursuits, philology ¹⁰⁷ and antiquities formed the favourite province of Eratosthenes. He was a copious writer on both these subjects; but of all his compositions nothing has come down to us, except his short tract on the constellations with an abstract of the fables which gave rise to their names; his account of the mesolabe; or instrument for finding between two lines two mean proportionals; and his measure of the earth, reported by Cleomedes, who lived many centuries after him ¹⁰⁸. His distinguished merit could not exempt him from the malice of detractors. Even his wonderful variety of talents, so assiduously and so successfully employed, were seized as the handle for contemptuous obloquy. He was entitled *Beta*, as a man who had not attained the first rank in any one of the numerous objects of his pursuit ¹⁰⁹. His friends, with less blamable injustice, called him the pentathlete, as carrying off the palm of glory in all the arts and sciences in which he contended ¹¹⁰.

The four
sects.—
Strato the
Peripatetic.

The philosophers of the four different sects were as numerous at Alexandria in the reign of Philadelphus as in that of his predecessor: and those of the Peripatetic school should seem to have been distinguished with the same preference in point of royal favour and royal munificence. The respect which Demetrius Phalereus enjoyed under the first of those princes, was shown by the second to Strato, also the scholar of Theophrastus. The virtuous instructions of that philosopher were ¹¹¹ rewarded by the king with a present of eighty Alexandrian talents, equivalent to twenty-four thousand pounds.

¹⁰⁶ Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax. l. iii. c. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Sueton. de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, c. 10.

¹⁰⁸ They are published with the Oxford Edition of Aratus. An. 1702.

¹⁰⁹ Suidas et Marcian. Heracleot in Perip. p. 63.

¹¹⁰ Plin. l. ii. c. 108. et Lucian in Macrob.

¹¹¹ Diogen. Laert. l. v. segm. 60.

The greatest discouragement to letters is the encouragement of vile and invidious pretenders. Philadelphus was not guilty of this error, too common with well meaning but simple patrons. He rejected with scorn those who courted and sometimes obtained a spurious fame, by either offending decency, or by outraging merit. Among the former, the obscene poet Sotades of Crete held the most conspicuous place; but was treated so neglectfully by the king, that the lewd venom of his mind was inflamed into new virulence, and vomited forth against the prince by whose coldness he was affronted. Unfortunately, some proceedings of Ptolemy made him too fair a mark for the resentful malignity of Sotades. His sister Arsinoe, formerly wife to Lysimachus of Thrace, had sufficiently displayed her character in transactions above recorded in the history of that prince. The infamy of her behaviour did not prevent Philadelphus from receiving her kindly in Egypt, and, in the eighth year of his reign, from sharing with her his throne¹¹². Being too old to bear children of her own, she adopted those of his former wife, whose imprisonment at Coptos, in consequence of a real or pretended conspiracy, made way for the advancement of Arsinoe, who varnished her vices with such artifice, or compensated them by such talents, that Ptolemy consulted her in all his affairs, and continued to dote on this profligate woman through life, with an extravagance of conjugal fondness¹¹³. Her baneful ascendancy could not fail to taint the manners of her husband. Ptolemy, with many praiseworthy qualities, was disgraced by an air of voluptuous softness; by a proneness to slothful effeminacy, and ostentatious vanity¹¹⁴. The character of the court was impressed on the capital. The women of Alexandria ceased to be distinguished by that modesty and reserve, which still prevailed among females of honourable rank in ancient Greece, and in Greek settlements in all other parts of the world: and historians after-

CHAP.
XLSotades,
the satirist.

¹¹² Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.
and Pausanias Attic.

¹¹³ Pausanias Attic.

¹¹⁴ Athenæus, l. xii.

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wards remarked, that of all such settlements, Alexandria alone was disgraced by the mixture of women with men in crowds and popular tumults¹¹⁵. The weak part of Ptolemy's behaviour, his incestuous amours and his uxoriousness were reprobated in language too ¹¹⁶ gross to transcribe by Sotades, who found in the same subject an opportunity for gratifying his resentment, and indulging his obscenity¹¹⁷. The petulant satirist was thrown into prison at Alexandria. He effected his escape; was retaken, however, near Caunus in Caria, by Patrocles, the most distinguished of Ptolemy's admirals, who is said (horrid to relate!) to have wrapped him in a sheet of lead, and thus consigned the impure poet to the sea.

Zoilus.

The name of Zoilus is proverbial, as the most impudent detractor of merit. His trite story is involved in chronological difficulties¹¹⁸, by confounding this child of malignity and envy, who was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with a pleader of causes in Athens of the same name half a century older, who was born in the Athenian colony Amphipolis, and who flourished in the reign of Philip, father to Alexander¹¹⁹. This Athenian Zoilus chose, for his model in public speaking, the well known Lysias, an orator full of sweetness and persuasion, who, without boldness of imagery or vehemence of argument, gained his hearers by ordinary and proper terms, gracefully disposed; and by that air of frankness, truth, and candour which always shone in his discourse¹²⁰. An author's style is the natural picture of his mind. That of the elder Zoilus was amiable and engaging, and altogether inconsistent with the malignant acrimony, and savage ferocity, for which his unworthy namesake was branded in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This opprobrium to letters was not

¹¹⁵ Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.¹¹⁶ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 621.¹¹⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 648. Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 620.¹¹⁸ Suidas and Ælian, V. H. l. xi. c. 10.¹¹⁹ Dion. Halicarn. de Demosthen. vehement. et in Epist. ad Pompeium.¹²⁰ See Life of Lysias, prefixed to my Translation of his Speeches.

indeed deficient in terseness of expression, and plausibility of argument; in readiness of wit to surprise, and in the knack of ludicrous combinations and images to excite insolent laughter. He overrated however his own powers, when he came to Alexandria in hopes of acquiring fame, by stigmatizing the most illustrious names with deformities directly the reverse of their acknowledged beauties; reproached Xenophon with affectation, and Plato with vulgarity; arraigned Isocrates for want of elegance, and Aristotle for dulness in discernment¹²¹. The poets were the great buts of his buffoonery, especially Homer, in whom all poetical excellence is summed up. The reprimand of Homer was his principal and most favourite performance. We know it only by a few low sarcasms, equally impudent and contemptible. Homer, he says, is ridiculous in the beginning of the Iliad, when he employs so great a god as Apollo in killing lazy curs. He is equally absurd in the progress of it, when he describes Diomed's helmet as blazing with fire, for then the hero must have been burnt alive by his own armour¹²². The companions of Ulysses turned by Circe into swine, Zoilus ludicrously called Homer's poor little blubbering gruntings¹²³. The poet, he says, knew nothing of good breeding, when he rudely thrust old Priam from Achilles' tent: and he is an absolute fool, in making Idæus quit his nimble chariot, in which, to save his life, he ought to have driven away at full speed¹²⁴. By such impudent scurrility, Zoilus provoked much hatred; in his own style, he was branded as a growling snarler, the¹²⁵ cur of criticism: and when little patronized by the public, he solicited a share in the king's bounties, Ptolemy coldly observed to him, that it was strange so great a genius, towering even above Homer, should stand in need of assistance, since the poems of Homer

¹²¹ Ælian, ubi supra.¹²² Schol. Anonym. in Iliad V.¹²³ Longin. de Sublim. s. ix.¹²⁴ Schol. ibid.¹²⁵ *Κύριον γροθίον* Ælian, ubi supra. Strabo scoffs at him more pleasantly. "In speaking of the isle of

Tenedos, Zoilus says absurdly, that the river Alpheus, in Peloponnesus, has its source in that island. Such is the fabulosity of the man who finds fault with the fables of Homer!" Strabo, l. vi. p. 271.

CHAP. still furnish bread to thousands, a thousand years after the
 XI. death of their author¹²⁶. The end of Zoilus is variously related; all agree that he died in poverty and disgrace.

Character-
istics of
the Ptole-
mean age.

The Ptolemean age of literature, for thus the reign of Philadelphus has sometimes been distinguished, was remarkable not only for the vast number of its productions, but for the wide diversity in their subjects: history, natural and civil; poetry in all its branches; moral philosophy and criticism; geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine¹²⁷. With much ardour for real knowledge, the writers of that age pursued, however, with equal eagerness, all the wildest illusions of the false. Thence, their fabulous history and visionary philosophy; their fanciful discussions concerning mysterious powers in plants and minerals; their innumerable treatises on judicial astrology; their books of travels, and voyages of discovery¹²⁸ without end, in which the most monstrous fictions are related; and thence many huge collections, on the express subject of wonders and prodigies¹²⁹. Various causes concurred to mark the learning of Alexandria with a character, altogether different from that which had distinguished the learning of Athens. The fraternities devoted to arts and sciences, lodged and fed in the museum, are compared to fowls fattened in coops¹³⁰, who gain a superabundance of flesh, at the expense of raciness and flavour. If we may judge, indeed, by the remains which have come down to us, the works of the Alexandrians displayed more erudition than taste, and more art than genius¹³¹. Their compositions of the popular kind were calculated for the gratification of a pompous and effeminate court, of a wealthy and luxurious capital; as eager for amusement as careless of correct information. The multiplicity of pursuits distracted; the number

¹²⁶ Vitruvius Architect. l. vii. in Præfat.

¹²⁷ See the titles of lost works of that age in Fabricius, Greek Library, b. iii. throughout.

¹²⁸ I thus translate the *περίπλους*.

¹²⁹ *ἱστοριῶν παραδοξῶν συναγωγαι*.

¹³⁰ *Ταλαρον*. Athenæus, l. i. p. 22.

¹³¹ Such is Lucian's judgment. Vid. de conscribend. Historia, p. 637. Edit. Amstel.

of helps incumbered: and society, too crowded and continu- CHAP.
ous, is less favourable than solitude, to high mental improve- XI.
ment. In consequence of the change to monarchy from Oratory.
republicanism, Grecian eloquence declined, and carried
down with it all other kinds of literary composition; sweet
sometimes and artful, but greatly degenerate in point of pith
and persuasion¹³². The orator now addressed himself to the
great and opulent, whose minds he was either to soothe, or at
best gently to agitate, not to the people at large, whose pas-
sions he was to rouse, whose resolutions he was to control,
and whose decrees he was, at will, either to abrogate or con-
firm. Thence, neither writers nor speakers assumed the same
commanding attitude as formerly; and thinking less highly
of their own character, reached not that majesty which over-
awes, and that vehemence which overwhelms. For history,
the sober companion of eloquence, the exploits of Alexander
offered the noblest of all subjects. Yet Hegesias and Onese-
critus, with many authors of the same stamp, strangely de-
formed that august theme; the marvellous or puerile in their
matter¹³³ being accompanied by new and harsh turns of ex-
pression, by periods broken and transversed, by cadences
uncouth and unexpected, by sounds that wounded the ear,
and phrases that perplexed the understanding¹³⁴.

In human affairs there is commonly a balance of good and History.
evil. The ages of Alexander and the Ptolemies laid the foun-
dation, as we have seen, of many noble improvements; yet
the romantic events of the times, and the conflux into great
cities of heterogeneous crowds prone to deceive each other,
had a tendency to corrupt the purity of philosophy as well as
history. Adopting the language of eastern despotism, the
sophist Anaxarchus had not blushed to tell Alexander him-
self, that Justice sat at the right hand of kings ready to sanc-
tion their most lawless proceedings¹³⁵. Clearchus and other

¹³² Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. and Dia- s. 18.
log. de Orator.

¹³⁵ Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l.

¹³³ Polybius and Strabo, passim. iv. c. 10.

¹³⁴ Dionys. de Structur. Orat.

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Megas-
thenes and
Daima-
chus.

Timæus.

Euheme-
rus.

¹³⁶ Strabo, l. xv. r. 693.

¹³⁷ Strabo, *ibid.* p. 706, 707.

¹³⁸ Γρασοσυλλεκτης. Suidas et Hesychius.

suffice to observe that six miles from its capital, Panara, there was a lofty mountain called the throne of heaven, adorned by a magnificent temple of white marble, which among other monuments of inestimable value, contained a golden pillar, inscribed with hieroglyphics. In deciphering this inscription, Euhemerus unmasked the whole delusion of pagan idolatry: Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, with the whole tribe of Grecian gods, he found to have been mere mortals, several of them great conquerors, and all of them illustriously distinguished in arts and arms¹³⁹. Such is the *sacred history*, interpreted by Euhemerus from hieroglyphics into Greek, and translated a century afterwards from Greek into Latin, by the poet Ennius. Though all critics of discernment, with Eratosthenes at their head, the credulous Plutarch, and the incredulous Strabo and Polybius, reject with scorn the description, and even the existence of Panchaia, yet the name became current at Rome through the verses of Ennius, and was made familiar to the world, by the poetry of Lucretius¹⁴⁰ and Virgil¹⁴¹; both of them Epicureans in philosophy, and as such, not unwilling to abet what was deemed by the vulgar, the atheism of Euhemerus.

The wildest fables of the Greeks were countenanced and surpassed by those of the Barbarians, who adopted their language, and abused their credulity. Soon after the building of Alexandria, this new capital of Egypt was filled, as we have seen, by a mixed assemblage of nations, and particularly by a large colony of Jews, who, in the reign of the first Ptolemy, translated into Greek the five books of Moses, which they called collectively the Law¹⁴². The appearance of a work which reflected such unparalleled honour on a diminutive province, and at that time an obscure people, seems to have piqued the national pride of the Babylonians and Egyptians. These once illustrious cultivators of arts and

Berosus
and Manetho.

¹³⁹ Diodorus Siculus, l. v. s. 42.
et seq. Conf. Fragment, ex. l. vi. p.
633.

¹⁴⁰ Lucret. l. ii. v. 407.

¹⁴¹ Georg. l. ii. v. 139.

¹⁴² See this subject ably treated
in Prideaux' Connexion of the Old
and New Testament, Part ii. Book 1.

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sciences, found ready champions in the priests Berosus and Manetho, who, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, also translated into the Greek language, the history and antiquities of their respective countries. Berosus dedicated his work, which, under the title of history, comprehended a strange admixture of mythology and astrology¹⁴³, to Antiochus Soter, then master of Babylon, or rather Seleucia Babylonia, and all the dependent provinces in Upper Asia. At whatever period this work was composed, it must have been presented by its author in the extremity of old age, since the accession of Antiochus did not happen till forty-three years after Alexander's death: and before that event, Berosus had flourished at Babylon, as a priest of Belus¹⁴⁴. Having learned the Greek tongue, he travelled through different countries and islands inhabited by Greeks¹⁴⁵; taught astronomy and astrology at Cos, the famed birthplace of Hippocrates; and carrying with him the same sciences to Athens, gained such renown in that superstitious city, by the authenticity of his predictions, that he was honoured with a statue in the principal place of public exercise¹⁴⁶.

Berosus'
Babylonia-
nian History

In the history inscribed to Antiochus, the priest of Babylon still further insulted Grecian credulity, by tracing back the antiquity of that city to a period of four hundred and seventy-three thousand years before the Macedonian conquest¹⁴⁷. With regard to the flood, as well as the transactions of Noah, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus, his narrative nearly coincided with the Hebrew annals¹⁴⁸. But whenever forsaken by this aid, all was impenetrable obscurity or wild inconsistency. The dark chasm of fathomless ages was partly filled up by barren lists of fabulous kings; while the palpable defect of satisfactory information was excused by a fiction still more

¹⁴³ Τὸν παρ Χαλδαίων Φιλοσοφούμενον.

Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. s. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Tatian. advers. Gent.

¹⁴⁵ Vitruvius, Architect. l. ix. c. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

¹⁴⁷ Syncell. Chronol. p. 17. and seq. Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 31.

¹⁴⁸ Josephus, ubi supra.

palpable, namely, that Nabonassar, who is said to have reigned at Babylon only 747 years before Christ, desirous of passing with posterity for the founder of that empire, had destroyed all the historical monuments of his numberless predecessors¹⁴⁹. Should this assertion be admitted, what are we to think of the records long anterior to Nabonassar, which Berosus with strange impudence professes to have carefully copied?

Manetho a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, endeavoured to convince his patron Ptolemy Philadelphus, that he governed a people not less venerable than the Babylonians, subject to his rival, the king of Syria. To Ptolemy he dedicated his translation into Greek of the antiquities of Egypt; according to which work, that country had been long governed by the gods. The reigns of these beneficent sovereigns were described in orderly succession, many of them exceeded the period of a thousand years: Vulcan's administration alone amounted to nine times that number¹⁵⁰. In some collateral points of history, the Egyptian priest accords with the writings of Moses, but, except where guided by this sacred light, his narrative, as Josephus convincingly argues, is fraught with the wildest absurdity, and sometimes poisoned by the grossest calumny¹⁵¹.

The divine oracles, long carefully preserved by them, raised the Jews above such extravagant fictions and such monstrous chronology. But after their captivity in Babylon, and especially after their acquaintance with the Greek language, even this people who ought to have disdained such unnecessary artifices, did not remain exempt from the contagion of literary imposture, as those religious romances called the Apochrypha still testify; and Aristeas' well known story of the seventy-two interpreters¹⁵², with all the marvellous circumstances belonging to it, should seem to have been invented

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Manetho's
Egyptian
history.

The Jews
adopt the
Greek
learning
and arts of
imposture.

¹⁴⁹ Syncell. Chronol. p. 207.

¹⁵² Vid. Arist. de S. Script. Inter-

¹⁵⁰ Syncell. p. 270. Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 44.

pret. Oxford, An. 1692. et Prideaux, Old and New Testament connected,

¹⁵¹ Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 25. & seq.

p. ii. b. 1. p. 44, &c.

CHAP. XI. shortly after the Egyptian and Chaldean forgeries above mentioned. It is treated as an authentic work by Aristobulus, an Hellenistic Jew, like Aristeeas himself, under the disguise of a Greek philosopher. In the extreme of national partiality, Aristobulus, maintained that Pythagoras, Plato, and other learned luminaries of Greece, had borrowed all their science and knowledge from the Old Testament ¹⁵³.

Circum-
stances
which occa-
sioned this.

Strange as this opinion must appear to those conversant with the history and genius of the two nations, circumstances were not wanting to give it an air of plausibility. From their classic compositions preceding the Macedonian conquest, the Greeks could not discover any indication of their intercourse with the Jews either as teachers or disciples: much less could the natives of Palestine find any notices of such connexion in the sacred records intrusted to their care, and religiously transmitted by them to their posterity. But as the Greeks, shortly after Alexander's expedition, began to blend and amalgamate, as it were, their traditionary or written knowledge with oriental allegories and fables, so the Jews, at a still earlier period, had made such blamable additions to their divine scriptures, as fitted them to mix in some measure, and harmonize either with the follies of superstition, or the absurdities of false philosophy. We shall briefly explain how these corruptions were introduced and rendered general, first among the Jews, and afterwards among the Greeks.

The oral
law taught
by the Ma-
sorites and
Cabbalists.

It is a well known doctrine of the former at least as ancient as Ezra, by whom the sacred text was revised and solemnly published four centuries and a half before the Christian era, that God, when he gave the law to Moses on mount Sinai, also taught him its true reading called Masorah, and its true interpretation called Cabbala. The former of these uncouth words literally signifies "delivery," and the latter, "reception;" and both collectively refer to the same complex notion of a knowledge handed down from antiquity,

¹⁵³ Clement. Alexand. Strom. i. et v. et Euseb. Præparat. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12.

and uniformly received through successive generations¹⁵⁴. The Masorites and Cabbalists, who were the guardians and teachers of these traditions, greatly multiplied after the age of Ezra, and particularly in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when the spirit of fiction exerted its greatest vigour. From this time forward the Masorites and Cabbalists maintained a boundless authority, and the fables on which it was founded increasing like snowballs as they devolved from one age to another, were finally collected in the reign of Antoninus Pius into a work called the Mishnah, that is, the second or oral law by Rabbi Judah, then master of the Jewish school at Tiberias in Galilee. The Mishnah was received with the utmost veneration by the Hebrews at home and abroad, and became the principal study of their learned men, particularly in Babylonia and Palestine. The Rabbis of both those countries commented on the Mishnah in what is called the Gemara, or complement, because in it their whole traditional knowledge is supposed to be summed up. The Mishnah is the text, the Gemara the comment; and both collectively form the Talmuds, one of Jerusalem, published about the beginning of the fourth century, and the other the Babylonian, published two hundred years afterwards. The Babylonish Talmud is far the bulkier of the two, the proper Alcoran of the Jews, though the imposture originated at a far earlier period in those vile fictions which made our Saviour declare to the Scribes and Pharisees, that they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions¹⁵⁵. In consequence of these fabulous traditions, and particularly of the prevalent fashion of allegorical interpretation in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Jews, gradually adapted their religious opinions to the taste of their conquerors, while some of their learned men imbibed so completely the philosophy, which, as we shall see presently, began to be taught in Alexandria in that reign under the usurped names of Pythagoras

¹⁵⁴ See on this subject, Prideaux, p. i. b. v. throughout.

¹⁵⁵ Mark, c. vii. v. 13.

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and Plato, that it might be difficult, for an ordinary reader, to distinguish which were the copies, and which the originals¹⁵⁶.

The corrupters of Greek philosophy.—Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended Pythagoreans.

At the time when the Jews were most busy in polluting their religion by a spurious philosophy, the Greeks were not less perversely employed in corrupting their philosophy, so as to make it blend with the vilest superstition. This was effected under the first Ptolemies by Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended followers of Pythagoras, who laboured to adapt the tenets of that wise and great man, to the dark imaginations and childish credulity of the Egyptians¹⁵⁷. The coadjutors of these pretended Pythagoreans, who acted the same part under the Ptolemies that the new Platonicians did under the Roman emperors, were the lying voyagers Diogenes Antonius, Hermippus of Smyrna, and others shortly before and after them, who, in their travels through different countries of the East, had learned to give such an account of the sages of ancient Greece as suited oriental prejudice and oriental credulity¹⁵⁸. As the extravagant work of Diogenes can, as far as I know, be read only in the Greek library of Photius, I shall subjoin a brief account of it for the purpose of illustrating my present subject.

Diogenes Antonius.

This Diogenes is placed by Photius above four centuries before Diogenes Laertius, that is, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt. "His voyage to Thule" is written in the dramatic form¹⁵⁹, a mode of composition highly fashionable with the Greeks since the celebrity acquired by the dialogues of Xenophon and Plato. The story is told by Deinias an Arcadian to a party of his countrymen sent to solicit his return from Tyre to the place of his birth. Deinias, who was far advanced in life, refused to listen to this honourable

¹⁵⁶ Philo Judæus cited by Photius, Cod. c. v. p. 278. But long before Philo, who flourished An. Dom. 40, we find in the Jewish writers under the Ptolemies the doctrines and even technical expressions of the Platonic school of Alexandria. See particularly the apochryphal book, entitled the Wisdom of Solomon.

¹⁵⁷ Conf. Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. p. 165. et Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

¹⁵⁸ Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1. et Diogen. Laert. l. viii. seqm. 40. et seq.

¹⁵⁹ Vid. Phot. Cod. clxvi. p. 355. et seq.

invitation from the public assembly of his commonwealth, but endeavoured to compensate to his fellow citizens for their fruitless voyage to Phœnicia, by entertaining them with the curious history of his own travels by sea and land. With three other Arcadians, as he related, and his son Demochares, he left Greece in quest of knowledge, passed through Asia Minor, crossed the Caspian sea, climbed the Riphæan mountains, and traversing regions of eternal winter, entered the ocean surrounding the globe, and encircled it from the rising sun to the western island of Thulé. In this island he found a hospitable resting place after his long and various navigation, and here too he found Dercyllis, a Tyrian damsel of great beauty and accomplishments, who, like himself, was distinguished by the amazing series of her adventures. Confidence and affection naturally grew up between congenial minds. Dercyllis entertained the Arcadian by telling how, in company with her brother Mantinias, she had been obliged to fly from Tyre through the machinations of Paapis an Egyptian priest. This priest, they had received and kindly entertained as an unfortunate exile, but, upon further acquaintance, had discovered him, to their infinite sorrow, to be an expert and detestable magician. Through the suggestions of this villainous impostor, the unhappy children administered by way of remedy to their drooping parents, preparations that suspended their vital powers, and enchanted them into a state of deathlike slumber. Afflicted at this involuntary parricide, they had sailed from their native city, and visited many remote regions, in which they discovered unheard of wonders. Having touched at Sicily, they had the mortification to meet there the accursed Paapis; but, to punish his cruelty and perfidy, contrived to steal the scrip inclosing his books, and the casket containing his medicated herbs. With these instruments of his magic, they escaped into Italy. At Metapontum they learned that the traitor was in pursuit of them. Their informer was a philosopher whom in the course of their travels they had formerly met with, Astræus, com-

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panion to the famed Zamolxis, himself a disciple of Pythagoras, and legislator among his countrymen the Getæ, by whom he was successively revered as a prophet, and worshipped as a god. To avoid the encounter of Paapis, the young Tyrians accompanied Astræus to the country of the Getæ. The tedious part of the journey was beguiled by many wonderful stories concerning Pythagoras; his travels and discoveries, family and disciples. From Astræus, or rather from Zamolxis at his desire, the travellers also learned the extraordinary events that were speedily to befall themselves. According to his prediction, they sailed to Thulé; and being followed even to that extremity of the world, by the vengeful Paapis, were reduced by him through a seemingly very inadequate spell into the state of dead persons in the day-time though they regularly revived in the night. Their cause was espoused by an amorous native of Thulé, who, at the sight of Dercyllis whom he supposed dead, slew first the magician, and then himself. The means of disenchanting the young Tyrians, as well as their aged parents, were finally discovered in examining the purloined books of Paapis. But I am unwilling farther to pursue such monstrous fictions, which, however, Diogenes endeavoured to sanction by a forged letter from Balachrus, one of the least conspicuous among Alexander's captains. In this strange epistle, written by Balachrus to his wife residing in Macedon, he relates, that Alexander, upon the taking and burning of Tyre, was accosted by a soldier, who intimated his having an extraordinary communication to make to him: that, accompanied by Parmenio and Hephæstion, Alexander followed the soldier to a place at a little distance from the demolished city, and was there shown by him certain sepulchral urns under ground, composed of stone, and containing several legible inscriptions; particularly those relating to the heroes of the above story, "as Deinias the Arcadian lived an hundred and twenty-five years, Dercyllis and Mantinias lived respectively thirty-nine and forty-two years, but both of

them in addition to these different lengths of time, lived a certain, and that the same precise number of nights." This enigma was explained by discovering on the wall of the cavern, a cypress casket, on which Alexander and his companions read the following words: Whoever thou art, O Stranger! open this casket, and learn things worthy of admiration. They opened, and read on cypress tablets the adventures of Deinias and Dercyllis; adventures entirely controlled by the same kind of machinery which prevails in the Arabian Nights' entertainments, and in the oldest romances of chivalry. If Diogenes lived under Ptolemy Soter, he should appear to have been the first Grecian who disgraced his composition with such vile unclassical fictions: and Hermippus of Smyrna, the scholar of Callimachus, is the first writer of that nation who treated *circumstantially* concerning magic¹⁶⁰; that immemorial folly of the East, enslaving the credulous mind by the triple chain of superstition, astrology and medicine.

From this time forward, and in consequence of such writings as those of Diogenes, Hermippus, and Timæus, who interwove in his history a romantic account of Pythagoras and the Italic school, it came to be a prevailing opinion that the greatest philosophers in Greece were only the greatest of magicians. Pliny assures us of the fact; and inconsistently with his pretended contempt for magic, treats Democritus and Plato as abettors of that futile art, in which he believes them to have made great proficiency¹⁶¹. But the copious writings of Plato convincingly refute such an extravagant imputation.

In this manner, the corruption of philosophy early began at Alexandria with the falsification of history. The evil was perpetuated by those pretended lovers of wisdom, who, travelling over the Macedonian conquests in the East, collected every rite of sanctity and every tale of wonder; and who, in contempt of the judicious maxim, "never to intermix the concerns of philosophy with those of the popular super-

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The Platonicians.

¹⁶⁰ Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1.

¹⁶¹ Id. ibid.

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stition ¹⁶²," made it their great endeavour to combine philosophy and mythology into one system, to defend as well as embellish truth by fiction, and whether they laboured, as was usual, to fortify the established belief, or aimed, like Euhemerus, at discrediting the gods of their ancestors, to effect either purpose by new invented fables and lying prodigies. Their falsehoods and absurdities devolved with continual accumulation from age to age, until towards the commencement of the third century of the Christian era, the philosophers of Alexandria, under the name of Eclectics or Platonicians, corrupted or confounded the tenets, abolished the authority, and almost the name, of all the more ancient and less visionary sects ¹⁶³.

Arts of imitation or design.

The unclouded renown of Philadelphus' reign consisted in the splendour of the arts. Of all Greek kings (Alexander only excepted) he kept the greatest number of eminent artists in his pay. In this particular, his predecessor Ptolemy Soter had been rivalled by Seleucus Nicator, contemporary with that prince; but though Seleucia Babylonia was a far greater city than Alexandria, the arts of imitation or design never struck such deep root there, or reached such a flourishing height. Alexandria had an easy maritime communication with Greece from which all refined arts flowed; whereas Seleucia was only a great inland emporium, at an immense distance from the mother country, and cut off from the Greek colonies in Lesser Asia by mountains and deserts. Egypt, besides, was peculiarly productive in materials for architecture and statuary. Its finest marbles, which had long been disfigured by an uncouth superstition, were fashioned by Greek artists into all the most perfect forms of ideal beauty. The Grecian gods and heroes claimed the first care both of the king and of those who were patronized by him; but among the innumerable statues erected in Egypt in that reign, contemporary merit met with its due reward, nor could

¹⁶² Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶς σοφισμένων, καὶ ἄλλων μεταστροφῶν σπουδῆς σκεπτικῆς. Aristot. *Metaphys.* l. iii. c. 4.

¹⁶³ See the supplement to my *New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy.*

such honours be withheld from the Olympic victors, sometimes Ptolemy's subjects, natives of Alexandria. The epithet Philadelphian became proverbial to express expense employed with taste; and this taste appeared alike in the greatest and the smallest productions, from the lofty column and magnificent temple to the elegant medal or polished gem; particularly the miniature portraits of Arsinoë in crystal, cut by Satyrius¹⁶⁴. Such minute labours are deserving of notice, because by them only we can now estimate the reports delivered down to us concerning the wonderful splendour of public buildings, either in the cities embellished by Ptolemy, or in those which he founded. From motives of vanity or superstition, he was careful, like other princes his contemporaries, to perpetuate, in works of architecture, his name and surname. Acco, at the northern extremity of the Holy Land, being repaired and strengthened by him, was called Ptolemais: and Rabba Ammon, on the other side Jordan, obtained in the same way the name of Philadelphia¹⁶⁵; a name which continued to prevail; whereas the old appellation of Acco again revived, and being corrupted into Acre, was destined in that harsh word to convey a sound pleasing to Christians, who there triumphed over Mahometans; and more recently to Englishmen, a handful of whom in Acre foiled an army of French.

Philadelphus was industrious in improving the commercial advantages of his capital, and in adorning it with temples, palaces, theatres, hippodromes, and gymnasia. Alexandria, under his predecessor, already displayed its spacious and well ventilated streets; its copious supplies of fresh water; its double harbour, separated by the Heptastadium; its lighthouse on the isle of Pharos; and its magnificent temple to Serapis. But numerous benefits still remained to be conferred on it. Of these, history does not enable us to ascertain

Improvement of
Alexandria.

¹⁶⁴ Antholog. l. iv. c. 18.
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¹⁶⁵ Vid. Reland. Palæstin. Illustrat.
S

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the date; though the principal of them may warrantably be ascribed to Philadelphus ¹⁶⁶. The ports open to the sea, (we shall speak presently of those on the lake Mareotis), were constructed to afford the utmost safety; the inner part of Eunostus, above mentioned, was emphatically styled the ark or coffer ¹⁶⁷; and so deep were both harbours at the water's edge, that the largest vessels laid their sides on the graduated keys, called ladders ¹⁶⁸, on which their cargoes were unloaded. The southern walls of the city were washed by the lake Mareotis. This lake, now much shrunk in dimensions, was thirty miles long and fifteen broad. It was diversified by eight islands: its banks teemed with inhabitants: by one canal it communicated with the harbour Eunostus, and by another the Canopic branch of the Nile. The harbours on the lake were not less busy than those on the seacoast; beautiful villages rose on both sides of them. The eastern suburb was distinguished by the vast hippodrome; the scene, as we shall see, of many extraordinary occurrences. On this side, chiefly, innumerable canals strayed through rich fields sheltered from the sun's rays by the green luxuriance of their produce. A kind of bean, in particular, was so lofty, and had leaves so large and thick, that parties of pleasure frequented these cool plantations in barges or banqueting vessels ¹⁶⁹. The whole country round, (now deformed by barrenness and dreary solitude), breathed activity, life, and pleasure. Even the little island Pharos, in addition to its far famed tower, came to be adorned with many other superb edifices, and was copiously provided with fresh water, poured into it from the Nile by hydraulic engines.

Its inhabi-
tants—
their em-
ployments.

The general population of this great city, (of the learned inhabitants of the museum we have above spoken), though formed from an assemblage of different nations, was gradually moulded into much sameness of character. The most praiseworthy qualities belonging to the Alexandrians, were

¹⁶⁶ Pausan. Attic. & Philo Judæus de Vit. Mosis.

¹⁶⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

¹⁶⁸ Ὡς τῇ μεγίστῃ ναυικῇ κλίμακος ὀρεμν. Strabo. Conf. Joseph. de Bell.

Jud. l. v. Thence the origin of the French expression "Les Echelles de Levant."

¹⁶⁹ Strabo ubi supra.

industry and ingenuity. Throughout the whole place, none lived in idleness; and here many occupations were skilfully exercised, unknown or disregarded in other Greek cities. Many Alexandrians laboured in blowing glass: others were employed in softening and smoothing the papyrus: weaving linen and brewing beer were very ordinary trades: the blind and lame, even those lame in their hands, had tasks assigned to them, not incompatible with their several infirmities¹⁷⁰. The rich were, in their way, not less diligent; some superintending their large manufactures; others augmenting their fortunes by commercial enterprise: and if the Ptolemies shared amply in both sources of profit, their gains were laudably expended in great public undertakings.

The vastness of the royal palace excites, indeed, an idea of idle superfluity of grandeur. It is said to have equalled a fourth part of the city¹⁷¹. But this observation can apply only to the times of the latter kings, for the most part con-

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Royal
palace—its
vastness.

¹⁷⁰ Saturninus apud Flav. Vopisc. in Histor. August. p. 297. Edit. Franc. An. 1788. Conf. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. c. iii. This character of them remounts to the earliest times of the city. Plutarch, Strabo, Polybius.

¹⁷¹ Καὶ τὰ βασιλικά, τέταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ παντός περιέχον μέρος. Strabo. "That the palaces were a fourth or even a third part." The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprise us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, p. 473. is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavours to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had confiscated the houses and gardens of opulent senators, therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. Decline and Fall, c. vi. p. 161. But upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. iv. c. 1. on

which this incredible account of the magnitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than any city, πᾶσις πόλις μείζονι. Herodian institutes not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace. He only intimates generally and indefinitely the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy through which they had to pass.

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temptible princes, who vied in surpassing each other in works of extravagance and vanity¹⁷². They should seem to have continually enlarged the palace, above mentioned in Bruchion, by edifices communicating through covered galleries with each other, and therefore included under one name. Even under the first Ptolemies, the palace was connected, in this way, with the museum, the library, and the theatre of Bacchus; on which account very extraordinary dimensions might without impropriety be assigned to it.

Foreign
embassies
—and
transition to
the growth
and aggran-
dizement
of Rome.

After Philadelphus' glorious reign of thirty-eight years, the prosperity of Egypt was but imperfectly upheld, during the twenty-five years of its administration under his son Ptolemy Euergetes. Thenceforward there was a perpetual decline, in consequence, as will be seen, of bad policy at home and abroad, and of the general unworthiness of the Ptolemies, with one only exception in favour of the unfortunate Ptolemy VI. Philometor. Yet after the worst of times, and when Egypt had sunk into a province of the Roman empire, its populousness amounted to 8,000,000¹⁷³: it was doubtless much greater in the time of Philadelphus. That prince possessed, also, valuable dominions in Syria and in Lesser Asia; he was master of Cyrene and Cyprus: many smaller Greek islands, and some considerable cities on the coast of Thrace acknowledged his jurisdiction. The whole of his subjects may be estimated, by a moderate account, at 15,000,000. With such a population, and with the commerce, revenues, fleets, and armies above detailed, Ptolemy had nothing to fear from any other Greek king; much less, as it might seem, from any power beyond the pale of the Macedonian empire. The first war between Carthage and Rome, which lasted twenty-four years, began nineteen years before Philadelphus' demise. Of the two parties engaged in that obstinate conflict, Carthage was naturally the object of most jealousy, from her vicinity to Cyrene, and her long rivalry with that Egyptian dependency. Accordingly, when in the middle of the war, the Carthaginians applied to

¹⁷² Polybius, l. xv. c. 30. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793.

¹⁷³ Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4.

Ptolemy for assistance, he declined to afford it them; and even denied to them the loan of 2000 talents¹⁷⁴. In excuse of this last refusal, he told them that the money, which they demanded, was incompatible with an amity of twenty years subsisting between Egypt and Rome: For Ptolemy, with a due attention to foreign affairs, had, upon the repulse of Pyrrhus, which left the Romans masters of the southern coasts of Italy, sent an embassy of congratulation to Rome, and received from that republic another embassy in return¹⁷⁵. The transaction was on both sides marked with much dignity; and first brought into notice with the Greek kings of the East, a commonwealth which was speedily to interfere with decisive preponderancy in all their concerns.

¹⁷⁴ Appian Excerpt. de Rebus Siculis, vol. i. p. 92. Edit. Schweigh.

¹⁷⁵ Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

CHAPTER XII.

Distinctions between the Greek Colonies in Latium, and those in Magna Græcia. Foundation of Rome. Views and Institutions of Romulus. Parallel between Rome and Athens. Wars of the Romans under the Kings. Improvements of Rome, in point of Strength, Beauty, and Salubrity. Wars with the Tarquins. Italian wars under the Consuls. How the Æqui and Volsci were enabled to resist two Centuries. Siege of Veii. Legionary order of Battle. Rome taken by the Gauls. Destruction of these Invaders. War with the Samnites. Rebellion of the Latins and Campanians. Settlement of the Roman Conquests. War with Palæopolis. Jealousy of Tarentum. Her Artifices for embroiling Rome with the Lucanians and Samnites. Caudine Forks. The Romans protect Thurii. Survey the coast of Magna Græcia. Pyrrhus chosen General of Tarentum. His Expeditions into Italy and Sicily. The Romans subdue the continental part of Magna Græcia. Causes of the first Punic War. Its History. Sicily divided between the Romans and king Hiero.

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XII.

Connexion
of this
history.

THE Greeks, at once a commercial and warlike people, connected, by their colonies and conquests, the transactions of the ancient world. In the reign of Ptolemy Soter, the affairs of the East were brought into contact with those of the West, through the bold ambition of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the connexion was renewed through the adventurous spirit of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. But before the expedition of the former of these kings into Africa, and of the latter into Italy, and precisely in the same year that Alexander died at Babylon, the Romans having extended their dominion or their ascendancy to the confines of Magna Græcia, first began to make war on the Greek city Palæopolis, and to be viewed with fear or jealousy by Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium, and other maritime emporiums belonging to the same nation in Italy¹.

¹ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22. et seq.

These once flourishing seaports had suffered a sad reverse of fortune, since the abolition of their Pythagorean laws, and the destruction of their Pythagorean magistrates. From that time forward, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, whose territories collectively boasted the name of Magna Græcia, had been distressed by foreign invaders, and by domestic tyrants, but more uniformly afflicted under the ignominious yoke of unbridled democracy. In such a wretched situation of affairs, without vigour or union among themselves, Pyrrhus was summoned to their succour. Alexander, king of Epirus, had perished by treachery in Italy, forty-three years before this crisis, after successfully defending the Greek colonies there, against the barbarous natives in their neighbourhood. Pyrrhus inherited all the boldness of his ancestors: in virtue of his marriage with Agathocles' daughter, Lanassa, he had strong claims in both divisions of Magna Græcia: with apparent generosity, and much real ambition, he therefore undertook the defence of the Greeks in Italy against the Romans, and the defence of the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians. Through the invasion of Africa, by his father-in-law Agathocles, my readers were made acquainted with the history, resources, and internal state of Carthage; but the expeditions of Pyrrhus into Italy, exhibiting the first important warfare between the Greeks and Romans, it will be necessary here to examine, with a view to many subsequent parts of this work, the character and genius of a people, who after first measuring their strength with the Epirots, persevered in successive conflicts, with other Greek commonwealths or kingdoms, till in the space of two hundred and forty-four years, they reduced the whole of them into provinces.

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Makes it
necessary
to explain
the maxims
and pro-
ceedings of
the Ro-
mans, be-
fore they
engaged in
war with
Magna
Græcia.
Olymp.
cxiv. i.
B. C. 324.
U. C. 430.

Under the necessity of treating a subject, which, by being familiar to the reader, is thereby rendered more difficult to

² Diodor. Eclog. xxii.

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Distinc-
tions be-
tween the
Greek colo-
nies there
and those
in Latium

the writer, I am happy that the information which it was incumbent on me to communicate in a preceding work, will enable me to reduce the present narrative, within a narrow compass. The Romans, were indeed Greeks, only of an earlier age³: with their blood and primeval habits, they inherited that combination of craft and courage, which, having carried their arms in victory over twenty barbarous nations in Italy, at length exposed them four hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome, to the envy and hatred of the degenerate and feeble inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The Greeks who colonized the part of Italy, bearing that name, chiefly in the eighth century before Christ, are carefully to be distinguished from those Elians and Arcadians, who, at a far earlier period occupied the district called Latium, towards the middle of the western coast. The settlers in Magna Græcia left their native country, at a time when its arts and institutions had acquired a considerable degree of maturity. They possessed themselves of the projecting headlands looking towards Greece and Sicily; and maintained a frequent and animated intercourse with their ancestors in the former, and with their brethren in the latter⁴. But the Greek colonists in Latium migrated during a ruder state of the arts, and an earlier period of society. They intermixed with the natives of the conquered territory, whom their humanity or policy had spared. After the taking of Troy, they are said to have been joined by Phrygians, a people naturally hostile to their mother country; and their settlement on the remote⁵ western coast of Italy debarred rude mariners, as they were, from frequent communication with

³ Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 10. et seq. edit. Sylburg. Conf. Plutarch in Flamin. p. 375. Edit. Xyland.

⁴ See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. throughout.

⁵ The contrast between the two

coasts, furnished Cicero with his beautiful comparison, Mare Ionium, Græcum quoddam et portuosum—Inferum hoc, Tuscum et Barbarum scopulosum et infestum, &c. Cicero de Orator. l. iii. c. 19.

communication with ancient Greece, or with Greek establishments in any part of the world⁶. In this manner, the origin of the Romans came to be a matter of some obscurity, if not in earlier ages, certainly in the later times of the republic: the difficulty must have increased with the burning of Rome by the Gauls, accompanied by the destruction of many ancient documents; and at the era of her greatness and vanity, one of her brightest ornaments and best citizens frankly acknowledges his desire of concealing her obligations to Greece, for those laws and institutions, which did so much honour to Rome, when considered as the product of domestic wisdom⁷.

Yet the odious secret was betrayed by the evidence of history, of monuments, and of language; by the circumstances accompanying the foundation of Rome itself; and the whole proceedings of that city, whether under kings or consuls, According to the custom of Greeks, in other parts of the world, those of Latium extended themselves by colonization, into many small but independent communities, occupying when they first obtained the notice of history, twenty miles inland, and sixty miles along the coast, from the left bank of the Tiber, to the promontory of Circeii. Alba, the mother of Rome, was fifteen miles from the sea, defended on one side by abrupt precipices, and adorned on the other by a large and deep lake, whose waters, being artificially accumulated, served the double⁸ purpose of irrigating the contiguous plain, and of resisting the invasion of enemies. The city is said to have subsisted several centuries, as head of the

Foundation
of Rome.
Olymp. vi.
4. B. C.
753.

⁶ In the 220th year of the city, Livy says of Tarquin the Proud "duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiona maria in Græciam misit." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 56.

⁷ Multa sunt etiam in nostris ducta a Pythagoreis, quæ prætereo; ne ea quæ peperisse ipsi putamur aliunde didicisse videamur. Cicero Tusculan. l. iv. Plutarch in Flamin. speaks of ἱερὸν μῆτρον καὶ γλῶσ-

χα κίνηματα παλαιῶν γένους "the small sparks and faint resemblances which the Romans had retained of their ancient extraction," even on an occasion when he would have been most willing to conceal, if possible, their Grecian descent.

⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. l. i. p. 58. Conf. Piranesi Antiquità d'Albano, p. 6. & seq.

CHAP. XII. Latin confederacy, and to have founded thirty colonies, when king Numitor sent out a new one under his grandson Romulus. Accompanied by the valour of three hundred companions in arms, and the strength of three thousand hardy peasants, Romulus occupied the district assigned to him, adjacent to the left bank of the Tiber, scarcely seven miles in circumference. Within this narrow territory, he immediately commenced designs calculated to promote his renown in life, and in death to secure those coveted honours to his shade, which, according to the useful superstition of Greece, belonged to the benefactors and improvers, above all to the prosperous founders⁹ of cities and commonwealths. Actuated by motives, equally energetic and ardent, he is said, in the space of three years, to have collected subjects, built a city, instituted a religion, and arrayed an army¹⁰. But his subjects had partly accompanied him from Alba, and might easily, amidst the wars and distractions of petty states, be augmented by his protecting asylum; his fortress called Rome, from a Greek word denoting strength, already subsisted among the seven hills, and needed only to be repaired and reoccupied¹¹; and in point of religion, polity, and war, his institutions, even, as described by the popular historians of his country, perfectly accord with those which prevailed in the ancient royalties of Greece. There, during those heroic ages, as in Rome afterwards, national assemblies deliberated and resolved, senates approved and confirmed¹², and kings, at the head of the community, exercised the pre-

Romulus,
his views
and institu-
tions.

⁹ Vid. Diodorus Siculus, l. xx. s. 102. *θυριας καὶ πανηγυρις* &c. Conf. Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. xxxiii. p. 408.

¹⁰ Dionysius and Livy.

¹¹ Vid. Auctor. apud Cluverium, Ital. Antiq. p. 246. & seq.

¹² This order was afterwards reversed: the senate proposed and the people confirmed. Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 87. When the alteration took place, I do not find; nor have I met with any writer, ancient or modern,

who agitates the question. But from Dionysius, incomparably the most informing author, concerning the first ages of Rome, we learn that the Roman people were very anciently divided into *πατρῆαι*, or Curia, which collected, each of them apart, the votes of their respective members, and that the resolve of the majority of the Curia was referred to the Senate. Conf. Digest. l. i. tit. i. 2.

rogatives of convener and president of senates and assemblies, together with the important functions of high priest, judge, and general. CHAP. XII.

Under such political arrangements, Romulus infused into the commonwealth his own magnanimity. Numa inspired it with reverence for the maxims of justice, as guarded by the sanctions of religion. Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, respectively fortified the laws of Romulus, and of Numa. Tarquinius Priscus, a prince of Corinthian extraction, created that taste for Grecian elegance, and planned those works of solidity and splendour, which already announced the eternal city. Servius Tullius, secured regularity and fairness in collecting the public revenue, multiplied and improved the rules of legal polity, and balanced, with a nice hand, the rights of liberty and numbers among a free people, against the prerogatives of birth, wealth, and superior personal attainments. What remained to be done by the cruel and proud Tarquin? To fall, it has been said, an useful victim, and to promote by his disgrace the future glory of his country, since Rome must either have changed its government, or have remained a petty monarchy¹⁴. This is not, however, one of those reflections that naturally grow out of facts. Towards the end of the second century of the city, Servius Tullius mustered eighty-four thousand seven hundred citizens in arms¹⁵; after the lapse of two hundred years, this number did not double, amounting to only one hundred and sixty thousand¹⁶: a circumstance, which shows that the growth of Rome, whether proceeding from domestic or foreign causes, was more rapid under the kings, than under the consuls.

The revolution from royalty to republicanism happened at Rome as at Athens, and other cities of Greece, because kings, dissatisfied with legitimate honours, overleaped those barriers, which the religion of the times opposed to their tyranny¹⁷.

Respective merits of his six immediate successors. U. C. 39—290.

Change from royalty to republicanism. B. C. 509. U. C. 245.

¹⁴ Il devoit arriver de deux choses l'une; ou que Rome changeroit son gouvernement, ou que'elle resteroit une petite et pauvre Monarchie. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence,

c. 1.

¹⁵ Dionys. p. 225.

¹⁶ Tabul. Capitolin. et Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 22.

¹⁷ Thucyd. in Proem. Aristot.

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XII.Parallel of
Rome and
Athens.

In the uniform belief of their subjects, they were the accountable vicegerents of heaven, and the sceptre dropped from their hands, whenever they infringed the sacred obligations, under which they held it. Through the eminent abilities, the obstinate struggle, and the ultimate and complete discomfiture of the Roman, as well as the Athenian tyrants, the martial spirit of both nations was raised to the highest pitch; and in both alike, the enthusiasm for military glory accompanied the enthusiasm for liberty¹⁸. The object of their fond wishes, both of them acquired beyond all other cities in the world; though their roads to grandeur and renown became widely different from their total dissimilarity, in point of local circumstances and neighbourhood. Athens, surrounded by states brave and politic as herself, made conquests abroad; and in the zenith of her greatness, asserted dominion over far remote coasts, and a thousand maritime republics. But her diminutive territory, at home, afforded not any firm basis on which empire could rest; whereas the Romans first conquered the nations of Italy around them, and thence from that central peninsula, the solid citadel of their power, extended their triumphs on all sides, until the whole of the Mediterranean sea was inclosed within their iron frontier. Yet, notwithstanding this diversity of fortune, the maxims and revolutions of the two states, exhibit such a striking resemblance as renders the history of the one a perpetual commentary on that of the other.

Their prominent
characteristics.

In comparison with other nations of antiquity, the prominent characteristics of both Greeks and Romans consisted in the law of monogamy¹⁹, and in the zeal for civil liberty. From the former of these sources flowed that early institution, and

Politic. passim. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix. l. xi. c. 11. totally mistakes the nature of these revolutions.

¹⁸ Δηλοι δε ε κατα εν μονον αλλα πολ-
λαχυ η ισχυρια ως εστι χρημα σπουδαιον,
&c. Herodot. l. v. c. 78. This passage,
attesting the military energies in-

spired by liberty, is the text on which Livy expatiates, in his second book throughout.

¹⁹ Ενα ανδρα μιας γυναικος τυχειν,
vid. Petit. de Leg. Attic. p. 35.
From two passages of Livy, the one
corrupt, the other rhetorical, Vico.
Neapolitano, and D'Uni, (Della cit-

that propriety of domestic manners, which distinguishes, in modern times, the subjects of Europe from the slaves of Asia. Consuls were in Rome, what the archons had been in Greece. The Tribunes in the one country, corresponded to the Ephori in the other. Uncontrolled powers had belonged to the Grecian *Æsymnētæ*²⁰, before they were conferred on the Roman Dictators. In the Patricians of Rome, it is easy to recognise the Eupatridæ of Greece²¹; while the Equites of the former country bear a striking analogy to those noble bands of Grecian youth, employed by the magistrates in matters requiring celerity²² and despatch, and, who serving on horseback in proof of their hereditary opulence, were always ready to defend the state against foreign enemies, and the government against domestic insurgents²³. To say all in one word, such was the affinity between the two nations, that even the municipal laws of the Greeks, were early borrowed by the Romans, and embodied in their jurisprudence²⁴.

With such congeniality of character, their transactions also afford very remarkable parallels. In their respective

Similarity
in their
transac-
tions.

tadinanza Romana) and other fanciful writers, have inferred that marriages, establishing certainty with regard to the offspring, the duties of education, &c. could be contracted only by Patricians so called, a *patre ciendo*, that is, as they explain the words, from being able to name their fathers. But Homer would have taught them that they should have said from being able to boast their father's virtues. The etymology, besides, is denied by Dionysius, l. ii. p. 83. and indeed by Livy himself, "Patres certe, ab honore; Patriciique progenies eorum appellata." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. Conf. l. x. c. 8.

²⁰ Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 14.

²¹ The prerogatives of the Roman Patricians are comprised in the old Athenian law, *Ευπατριδας γινώσκουσιν τα θεία, και παρὰ χεῖρ ἀρχοντας, και νόμον διδασκαλὸς εἶναι και ὄντων και ἱερῶν ἐξήγη-*

τας. "It belongs to the Eupatridæ to perform the rites, and interpret the omens of religion, to teach the laws, and to bear magistracies."

²² The Equites were originally called *Celeres*, a word denoting their primary functions, (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. c. 2.) and exactly according with their office in Greece. See History of Ancient Greece. c. xxviii.

²³ Aristot. Politic. l. iv. & passim. Compare the account of Cinadon's conspiracy, History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

²⁴ Dionysius, l. x. p. 681. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 31. Tacitus Annal. l. iii. c. 27. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 642. & Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 5. The twelve tables were promulgated, U. C. 302. B. C. 452. Hermodorus of Ephesus assisted in the work. Pompon. de Origin. Juris, &c.

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histories, we find alike haughty²⁵ proceedings of the Eupatridæ and Patricians, immediately after the abolition of kings, whose sacred office had served in both countries, as a security and pledge, that the people should not be treated with insult, nor the nobles with injustice²⁶. Yet from the destruction of Tarquin, a period of three hundred and sixty-one years passed away before any dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians terminated in blood²⁷: and so firmly had the foundations of domestic manners been established under the six preceding kings, that two hundred and sixty years elapsed, before any woman in Rome publicly separated from her husband²⁸. In no country in the world were crimes less frequent, or punishments less severe. The dread of admonition from a magistrate long served for a most efficacious restraint²⁹; so acute was the sense of shame, and so awful the respect for government, deemed essential to the nature of man, because indispensable to his existence in community. Habituated to such feelings, the Romans were quickened in the pursuit of greatness by the active emulation of two annual consuls, and the ardent competition between two orders in the state, the Patricians striving to maintain the preeminence which they enjoyed, the Plebeians struggling to merit the equality to which they aspired: and the same political arrangements, under which a people less disciplined by morals, would have fluctuated between cruel tyranny and bloody sedition, secured, to this illustrious nation, equality of freedom at home, and abroad consolidation of empire.

Wars of
the Ro-
mans in
Italy.

Few readers are altogether unprepared on the subject of Roman warfare in Italy: fewer still entertain clear or correct

²⁵ Conf. Dionys. l. x. p. 632. & seq. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 13. *Dein servili imperio Patres Plebem exercere.* Sallust Fragment.

²⁶ Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 10.

²⁷ See in Livy, l. iv. c. 9. 10. the contrast between the impassioned and sanguinary Ardeans, and the disciplined moderation even of the Roman populace.

²⁸ The first divorce happened U. C. 520. Vld. Sigonii de Antiq. Jur. Civil. Roman. l. i. c. 9. p. 51.

²⁹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 9. and Aulus Gellius, l. xv. c. 11. The sole sanction of the Valerian law, consisted in the declaration, that he, who violated it, would act amiss. Tit. Liv. ubi. supra.

notions concerning it. For this purpose it would be necessary to cast an eye on the nations by whom Rome was surrounded; and to examine her transactions with these nations separately and successively, so that preceding events may throw light on those that follow them. In prosecuting this new mode of Roman history, it will be proper also to advert to the results of military success, on the increase and embellishment of Rome, and on the extension, improvement, and security of its territory: from the distinct view of which particulars, my readers will be enabled to estimate the progress of the Romans, in arts as well as arms, when, at the close of Alexander's reign, they first came into contact with the inhabitants of Magna Græcia, and thereby fall within the limits prescribed to the present history.

Besides, their brethren in Latium, and the Tuscans who possessed the opposite bank of the Tiber, the Æqui lived more inland towards the north of Rome, and the Volsci on the south, inhabiting respectively the rough and intricate valleys around the Anio, and the Liris. Beyond the Æqui on one side, and beyond the Volsci on the other, the Sabines and Samnites held more extensive domains. The Samnites, who became the more powerful of the two, were colonies of Sabines; both nations descended from the Osci, and spoke the ancient Oscan tongue³⁰; and both were the founders of various smaller communities, which divided by mountains or rivers, and defended by rude walls, occupied and deformed many inland districts, while the neighbouring coasts were cultivated and embellished by Tuscans and Greeks. Of the two seas encompassing Italy, the western received the name of Tuscan, and the eastern is said to have been called the Adriatic from Adria, a Tuscan colony³¹. The Tuscans, indeed, very anciently cultivated the extensive plains between the Alps and Apennines, the Po, and the Rubicon. Their first settlements, however, should seem to have been formed on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the country still

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Nations
around
them in
that coun-
try.

Tuscans—
their limits
defined.

³⁰ Strabo. l. v. p. 233.

³¹ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 33.

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bearing the name of Tuscany³². In this district between the Tuscan sea and the Apennine, they built twelve cities, which in process of time planted the eastern side of the mountain, with as many colonies, extending to the Hadriatic, and finally occupying the whole of the adjacent coast, except the little corner manfully defended by the Veneti; a name, which local situation perpetuated to modern times in the long illustrious Venetians. Not contented with such ample possessions in the north, the Tuscans in their prosperous days usurped the Campania, that valuable southern plain immediately contiguous to the Latin shore, comparatively small in extent, but peculiarly alluring in point of climate, fertility and beauty³³. In this delightful district, the Tuscans likewise established twelve colonies, of which the principal was Vulturans, afterwards called Capua³⁴. But notwithstanding the amplitude of their territories, their military power had ceased to be formidable even in the first ages of Rome. At the time when Romulus occupied that stronghold, arts, rather than arms, formed the main pursuit of the Tuscans. They were a commercial and ingenious people, resembling the Greeks in their taste for music and dancing, for painting and sculpture: while their pompous magnificence, voluptuous luxury, and worse than Asiatic effeminacy³⁵, well accord with the characteristics of the Lydians, their reputed ancestors³⁶. Their confederacy had become extremely inadequate even for the purpose of defence; and their thirty-six cities, governed by as many kings,

³² Livy says of them "in utrumque mare vergentes incolere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare; postea trans Apenninum totidem, quot capita originiserant, coloniis missis; quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, usque ad mare tenuere." l. v. c. 33. The first settlements of the Tuscans thus lay between the Mare Inferum and the Apennine, they afterwards crossed the mountain, and planted colonies

around the Po. But Cluverius says, on the contrary, "Hi igitur antiquæ illius Etruriæ Circumpadanæ fuere fines; ex quibus postea in novam inter Apenninum et Mare Inferum Etruriam totidem colonias deduxerunt." Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 434.

³³ Polybius, l. ii. c. 17.

³⁴ Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

³⁵ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 517.

³⁶ Justin. l. xx. c. 1.

called Lucomons³⁷, will appear to have been anxious, each for its particular safety, taking a very faint concern in the affairs of its neighbours. CHAP.
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Under such circumstances of ancient Italy, a country, exhibiting strength void of art in some parts, and opulence without union in others, Romulus was first engaged in war through the expedient by which his subjects had been collected, and among whom, the number of males greatly predominated over that of females. This gave occasion to the well known exploit, called the rape of the Sabines, though Latin and Tuscan women, still nearer neighbours to Rome, had flocked to see the games of Neptune, and thereby exposed themselves to the rudeness of compulsory wedlock; Rape of the
Sabines—
how justified.

Romulus administered to the Romans, and the damsels whom they respectively seized, the elements of fire, bread or rather grain, and water, emblems employed in those days to denote the indissoluble communion of married life³⁸. To the relatives of the detained women, enraged at violated hospitality in so flagrant an outrage, he alleged the plea of political necessity, and the primeval institutions of Greece, according to which it was deemed more decorous³⁹ in females to submit to manly force, than to pronounce a blushing consent. In contempt of such justifications, the neighbours of Rome took arms. The Romans checked their irruption; drove them into disorderly flight; and Romulus, with his own hand, slew their leader, king of Cænina, a city, it is uncertain, whether of the Latins or Sabines. Upon this, and a second victory over the Latin city Antemna, Romulus led back his army exulting in success, and singing rude extemporary verses, to the praise of his skill and valour. He then entered the city clothed in purple, and crowned with laurel, preceded by priests, and followed by soldiers. Public gratulations hailed this victorious procession. Sacrifices to the gods were accompanied with joyous entertainments: and during this mixed solemnity, destined, in pro- The triumph.

³⁷ Lucomones reges sunt Tusca lingua. Servius ad Eneid. l. ii.

³⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 95.

³⁹ Ταῖς γυναῖξι ἐπιφανιστέον. Id. ibid.

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cess of time, to swell into all the pomp of Roman triumphs, Romulus conveyed to the Capitoline hill the spoils of the king of Cænina, his prostrate rival, and consecrated them to Jupiter under his title of spoil-bearer; to whom he afterwards raised a temple whose vestiges could be discerned with reverence even in the age of Augustus⁴⁰. This temple, the first germ of the renowned capitol, was destined for the reception of the spolia opima, the spoils stripped by Roman commanders from the bodies of adverse generals; an honour not lessened to Romulus by frequent participation, since the spolia opima were only twice consecrated, from the death of that prince to the dissolution of the commonwealth⁴¹, after numerous battles, and almost as many victories.

Condition
of the cen-
tral states
of Italy
during the
43 years of
Numa's
reign. U. C.
39—82.

Under her first king, Rome conquered several cities of the Latins and Tuscans, and incorporated within her own walls a considerable portion of the Sabines⁴². Numa, the second king, reprobated the encroachments of ambition. He erected a temple to Good Faith; and his example concurred with his precepts towards impressing the salutary conviction that justice is essential to piety. His mild yet firm sway anticipated the wish of the virtuous Plato; and while populous and powerful nations were a prey to despotism or anarchy, a small community on the banks of the Tiber flourished under the paternal care of a philosopher on the throne. The influence of Numa's virtues extended to neighbouring states. Those who had been rivals and enemies celebrated his well earned praise; and the spirit of just government, diffusing itself like a mild zephyr from Latium, softened into amity the surrounding commonwealths. To propitiate the gods rather by sanctity of manners⁴³ than by rich offerings, to till or plant the ground, and to rear lawful children, occupied the central states of Italy for the space

⁴⁰ Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 102.

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 10. The second spolia opima were gained by Cornelius Cossus over Tolumnius king of the Veientes. Id. l. iv. c. 19; the third, by Claudius Marcellus over

Britomarus king of the Gauls. Plut. in Marcello.

⁴² Dionysius, l. ii. & Tit. Liv. l. i

⁴³ Dionysius, l. ii. p. 123. et Plutarch in Numa. Numa rejected all traditions and all ceremonies de-

of forty-three years; during which period it was never once necessary to open the temple of Janus. To this mysterious personage, whose reformation of mankind from savageness into civility, was typified in his double countenance⁴⁴, a temple had been dedicated by Romulus. Numa completed this temple, and adopted it as a fit emblem of war and peace; of war when open, of peace when shut: under which latter circumstance, the territory of Rome was cultivated not more from necessity, than an emulation of industry. Each citizen could call a little⁴⁵ lot of land his own. Husbandmen thenceforth continued the main division of Romans⁴⁶. Other branches of labour were encouraged in proportion to the profit, or even pleasure, which they afforded. The smith, carpenter, weaver, and tanner administered to coarser wants; and already, in the reign of Numa, the more refined trades of the dyer, the goldsmith, and the maker of musical instruments were erected into separate corporations, enjoying appropriate halls, emblems, and festivals⁴⁷.

In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, successor to Numa, the pretensions of Alba, long the chief city of the Latins, were overthrown by the issue of the well known combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; a transaction in several of its circumstances strongly marking the distinction between heroic and barbarous manners⁴⁸. But notwithstanding the demolition of Alba,

Wars under the three succeeding kings. U.C. 82—170.

rogatory to the gods, and thereby detrimental to man. He thus refined the Mythology of Homer, as was afterwards done by the Pythagoreans. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. From this coincidence in theological reformation arose the anachronism stigmatized by Livy, l. i. c. 18. of making Numa a scholar of Pythagoras, who lived 100 years after him.

⁴⁴ Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 7.

⁴⁵ Two Roman jugera, equal to acres 1.236: that is, to five-fourths of an English acre.

⁴⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 34.

⁴⁷ Plutarch in Numa.

⁴⁸ Manners are barbarous when

crimes are committed wantonly, viewed unfeelingly, and either horribly avenged, or allowed to pass unchallenged. The reverse of all this appears in Dionysius, l. iii. p. 151. See the affecting prelude to the combat; the agitations and tears of the kinsmen; the resistless transports of the lovesick Horatia bursting the restraints of her well disciplined modesty: the stern patriotism of her brother; his *avadaiva*, or confidence in his own dire feelings, of which the propriety, on such an occasion, was recognised by the father of Horatia and himself, and by the king who expiated the murder.

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and the conversion of its inhabitants into Romans, wars were often renewed with the Latins, as well as with the Sabines and Tuscans, in consequence of the law of nations then prevalent in Italy. By a useful fiction of modern lawyers, kings are said never to die; amidst the perishing fluctuations of their persons, in their official capacity they are immortal; and the rights and obligations of each prince are thus transmitted entire to his successors. But the neighbours of ancient Rome, not acknowledging this maxim⁴⁹, rejected the supremacy, first of Ancus Martius, and afterwards of Tarquinius Priscus. The former of these princes, grandson to Numa, and heir to his virtues, armed for a just defence, and terminated a long and complicated war by results most beneficial to his country. The Veientes ceded to Rome the property of the Mesian forest; the remotest communities of Sabines acknowledged the superiority of Roman valour: Ancus extended his frontier to the sea; and near the mouth of the Tiber, constructed the safe harbour of Ostia. To secure the navigation⁵⁰ of that river, he fortified the Janiculum, an eminence on its western bank; and this eighth, as it may be deemed, and loftiest⁵¹ of the Roman hills, was joined to mount Palatine by a wooden bridge. To the new citizens, chiefly Latins, whom his victories brought to Rome, Ancus assigned dwellings on Mount Aventine. Mount Cælius was inhabited by Albans: the Palatine and Capitoline hills had been already occupied respectively by Romans and Sabines⁵². Upon the death of Ancus Martius, his successor, Tarquinius Priscus, was involved in a new war. The incursions of his enemies were repressed, their armies driven from the field, many of their cities taken, and chastised with different measures of severity according to the obstinacy of their resistance. The Latins, having wholly submitted, became auxiliaries to Tarquin in reducing the rebellious communities of Tuscans: namely, those first established

⁴⁹ Dionysius, l. iii. p. 186.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 183.

⁵¹ The Janiculum rises 260 feet above the level of the Tiber, that is,

100 feet higher than any of the seven hills on the opposite bank.

⁵² Dionys. *ibid.*

in Italy on the western side of the Apennine; and both
 Latins and Tuscans followed the standard of Rome in her
 renewed hostilities with the Sabines, and in the course of five
 years compelled that warlike people to accept the same
 conditions of peace, by which themselves were bound⁵³.

Such a tide of prosperity was celebrated by triumphs at
 Rome, and commemorated by public monuments. As em-
 blems of his supremacy, Tarquin received from the Tuscans
 a golden crown, a sceptre of ivory, bearing an eagle on its
 summit, and a throne of the same rare material. The ostenta-
 tious Tuscans, pompous even in their flattery, presented him
 also with a purple tunic embroidered with gold, and a robe of
 royalty rivalling the *Candys* worn by the great kings of the
 East, together with twelve fasces, representing the allegi-
 ance of their twelve subject communities⁵⁴. The senate and
 people of Rome consented that Tarquin should assume these
 badges of grandeur, which were retained by succeeding
 kings, and even by the Roman consuls, who rejected only the
 golden crown and variegated robe of royalty, as ornaments
 too proud and invidious⁵⁵.

A man of Corinthian extraction, brought up amidst the
 arts of Tuscany, and carefully instructed by his father in
 those of Greece, might be expected to employ the wealth
 acquired by conquest in works of useful magnificence.
 Wonderful were the exertions of Tarquin for improving the
 strength, the beauty, and the salubrity of Rome. The four
 hills rudely inclosed by preceding kings (for the Quirinal,
 Viminal, and Esquiline were taken in by his successor Ser-
 vius Tullius), he surrounded with a regular and complete
 wall, composed it is said, of stones, forming many of them, a
 cart's load. He constructed the Cloaca maxima, destined to
 carry in a broad subterranean stream the filth of the city into
 the Tiber⁵⁶. He adorned the Forum with elegant porticoes;

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Ensigns of
honour re-
ceived
from the
Tuscans by
Tarquinius
Priscus.

Rome im-
proved in
strength,
beauty and
salubrity.

⁵³ Dionys. l. iii. p. 184. & seq.

⁵⁴ Dionys. *ibid*.

⁵⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. & l. ii.
1. & Dionys. *ubi supra*.

⁵⁶ Strabo, l. v. p. 235. et Plin. l.

xxxvi. c. 24. The Cloaca was re-
paired under the republic at the
expense of 1000 talents. Dionys. l.
iii. p. 200. It was again repaired by
Agrippa under Augustus. Ovid.

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'and, aspiring in all things to rival the magnificence of Greece, erected on a plain between the Palatine and Aventine hills, a regular and spacious hippodrome, which, under the name of Circus, far surpassed its model the hippodrome of Olympia. Tarquin approached his eightieth year, and commenced in this advanced life the noblest of all his works. During his obstinate war with the Sabines, he had vowed temples on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; but as Terminus and Juventas, the god of boundaries and the goddess of youth, who had already in that place chapels erected to them, refused to resign their seats⁵⁷ even to Jupiter himself, he inclosed the mansions of these inflexible divinities within the precincts of his new architectural undertaking, of which he traced the plan, and laboriously formed the vast subterranean base. His grandson, Tarquin the Proud, carried on the design, which was completed in the 3d Consulate. The capitol of Rome stood like that of Corinth on an eminence, though far less commanding⁵⁸; and contained within its walls three parallel temples, that of Jupiter occupying the middle or most honourable place. This enormous pile of building, which extended 1840 Roman feet in circuit, was burnt amidst the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. Enriched with the spoils of Asia, Rome rebuilt the capitol, and adorned it with a profusion of costly ornaments, but neither altered its primary form, nor increased its original dimensions⁵⁹

Fast. l. iv. v. 401. & Strabo ubi supra. It is now choked up and neglected, and its mouth only to be seen when the Tiber is low.

⁵⁷ The obstinacy of Terminus was construed by the augurs into an omen, "that the boundaries of the commonwealth should never recede; and that of Juventas, that Rome should ever flourish in youthful vigour. Livy, l. i. c. 55. refers this transaction to the reign of Tarquin the Proud. Dionysius, l. iv. p. 257. is far more worthy of being followed.

⁵⁸ The Capitoline hill now rises 118 feet above the level of the

Tiber: the Palatine, 133; the Cælian, 125; the Esquiline, 154; the Aventine, 117; the union of the Quirinal and Viminal in Diocletian's baths, 141: the top of mount Janiculum, near the Villa Spada, 260. See Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlvii. part ii. for year 1777. But the hills of Rome have been depressed, and its vallies elevated through frequent dilapidations of the city.

⁵⁹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. Conf. Tacit. Histor. l. iv. c. 53. Even under the emperors, all admired, vastum aggeris spatium et substructiones insanas Capitolii. Plin. ibid.

Tarquinius Priscus, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded by his son-in-law Servius Tullius, who, from the cause above explained, which armed the neighbours of Rome on the accession of every new king, had to begin his administration with hostilities against the Tuscans and Latins. The former people, being stripped of part of their lands, renewed their submissions; and the latter, after repeated defeats in war, were more completely subdued by policy. In emulation of the Amphictyons in Greece⁶⁰, Servius required the Latins to build a temple at Rome on mount Aventine, and to send thither annual deputies from their several cities, that they might worship their common gods, commemorate their common origin, adjust their mutual differences, and concert such measures as best suited the general interest. By thus assembling at Rome, the Latins all acknowledged that city for the center of their union and their capital; and the name of Latin, as Servius had foreseen, came gradually to be lost in the more honourable appellation of Roman.

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Servius
Tullius.—
His council
of the Latins
resembling
that of the
Amphicty-
ons. U. C.
177—219.

By fifty new laws, this wise prince restrained the commis-
sion of wrongs, and enforced the obligation of contracts. He
communicated the rights of citizenship to emancipated slaves,
repelling the objections of pride and cruelty, by asserting it
for the prerogative of good government to smooth rather than
exasperate the harsh inequalities of fortune. To slaves them-
selves, he communicated the privileges of religion, built for
their use wooden oratories on the crossways, and allowed
them to celebrate in common the festival of the Compitalia⁶¹.
To accommodate the new citizens, whom his mild policy
had created, he joined the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline
to the mounts already inclosed, and thus completed the city
of the seven hills. Rome, as thus enlarged, is likened to
Athens in extent. The comparison is not exact, for Athens
measured eighteen miles in circuit; and the walls of Rome,
only fourteen miles, even when the Campus Martius had
been taken in by Aurelian⁶². But long before the age of that

His new
laws.

⁶⁰ Dionys. l. iv. p. 213.

⁶¹ Dionys. p. 213. & seq.

⁶² According to Nolli's accurate
map, the walls of Rome, including

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emperor, spacious suburbs, as we shall see, had arisen on all sides, exhibiting from their near contiguity to Rome, and each other, the appearance of one immense and endless city.

In consequence of the enlargement of Rome, Servius deemed it the more necessary to keep an exact account of its resources. For this purpose, he availed himself of the divisions, already made, of the city into wards, and of the country into districts. The wards, he raised from the number of three to that of four, inhabited by four city tribes: the rustic tribes were distributed into fifteen districts, each of which was provided with a place of safety in case of invasion, commonly a natural eminence fortified by art; and denoted by the Greek word *Pagus*, expressive of its form and use. Over each *Pagus* an officer was chosen to preside, whose peculiar business was to collect contributions, and to superintend in the celebration of the *Paganalia*; religious festivals which were made to answer an important political purpose; for the inhabitants of each district were commanded to dedicate, at their respective *Paganalia*, copper coins of

the *Campus Martius* inclosed by *Aurelian*, and the *Mons Vaticanus*, called *Citta Leonina*, because taken in by Pope Leo IV. extend in their whole circuit only $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 43 cannes, and 5 palms. Roman measure. The modern walls, however, are more extensive than the ancient, which, in the reign of *Titus*, measured 12 miles, 200 paces. *Plin.* l. iii. c. 5. But we shall see hereafter that the environs of Rome came to be crowded by buildings, especially along the highways, comprehended under the same general name, "*Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet;*

And *Claudian*,

*Inde salutato libatis Tybride lym-
phis
Excipiunt areas, operosaque semita
vastis*

*Molibus, et quicquid tantæ præmit-
titur urbi.*

verses extending the approaches of Rome to the confluence of the *Nar* and the *Tiber*. The indefinite signification of the word has passed with similar effect to modern times, of which I met with an example thirty years ago. At the distance of two stages from the *Porta del Populo*, a Roman being taxed with cheating, replied "*alle porte di Roma non s' inganna nissuno*," a moral exaggeration as great as the geographical. *Horace*, during the meridian greatness of Rome, fixes the *Quirinal* and the *Aventine* for its northern and southern boundaries:

Cubat hic in colle Quirino,

Hic extreme in Aventino:

The interval between which boundaries measures 3 English miles.

different denominations, according to their own differences of age or sex. These religious offerings at once showed to the magistrate the populousness of his canton or district, the proportion of males to females, and that of fighting men to males above or below the fit military age. The regulations of Servius did not stop here. At the death of every inhabitant belonging to the city or country, a piece of money was appropriated in the temple of Venus Libitina; and for every child that was born, a piece, differently stamped, was to be deposited in the temple of Juno Lucina: directions that produced an accurate register of births and burials. The last and most important ordinance of Servius, was that of the ^{822.} Census and Comitia Centuriata; an institution of important effect in consolidating the commonwealth, and with the disuse of which, as we shall see hereafter, those evils began, which rendered the most highminded people in history a prey to military despotism.

Servius is said to have observed ⁶³, that in the best ordered republics of Greece, the proportion of public contributions was adjusted with all possible exactness to the extent of private property. To introduce the same equitable regulation at Rome, a law was enacted commanding fathers of families to deliver upon oath a full and faithful account of their whole household and fortunes. According to their various gradations in point of wealth, Servius distributed them into six classes: the first class consisted of persons worth 100,000 ases ⁶⁴, equivalent to 100 pounds weight of silver: the second class, of those worth two thirds of that amount; the third, of persons estimated at 50,000 ases: one half of that valuation marked the fourth class: the fifth class required only 11,000 ases equivalent to 35 pounds sterling ⁶⁵: citizens not

⁶³ I follow Dionysius, l. iv. p. 213. & seq.

⁶⁴ An *as* was a Roman pound of copper, nearly 12 ounces avoirdupois. Old square pieces of copper, with the figure of a sheep, are met with in various collections, agreeing with what Varro says. Servius *Æs*

pecore notavit. Varro de Re Rustic. l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁶⁵ In those days, and long afterwards, a bushel of barley sold in Italy for two-pence; a bushel of wheat cost four-pence; a firkin of wine was exchanged for a bushel of wheat; and a man defrayed his ex-

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possessed of property to this amount, composed the sixth class, and were exempted on account of poverty from all pecuniary contributions. But this indulgence was attended with nearly a proportionate degradation as to the exercise of political rights: for the six classes were collectively divided into 193 centuries, comprehending the whole body of Roman citizens: each citizen voted only in his century; and each century had an equal weight in the enactment of laws and the appointment of magistrates. But of the 193 centuries into which the people were divided, not less than 98 were formed out of the first class; so that when these 98 centuries were unanimous, they enjoyed a decided preponderancy in all public concerns. The three succeeding classes were mustered, each into 21 centuries; whose equipments for war varied in completeness in proportion to their respective fortunes, all of them being less perfect than the Grecian bucklers, breastplates, greaves, and helmets distinguishing the centuries composed from the most honourable division of soldiers as well as citizens. The fifth class was divided into 35 centuries of velites, or light-armed troops; and the sixth class was thrown into one century, not so much for military purposes, as to prevent the exclusion of any individual at Rome, however unfortunate his circumstances, from all share in public deliberations and popular elections. To estimate the fluctuations of property produced among individuals by time and chance, a new valuation of estates, or new census, was to be taken at the end of every fifth year, accompanied by a periodical muster of persons ⁶⁶. On this solemn occasion, the centuries of horse and foot, the heavyarmed and velites, were drawn up in battle array in the plain extending between the Tiber on one side, and the Capitoline and Quirinal hills on the other. This plain was called the Campus Martius, being peculiarly consecrated to the god of war, on whose altar the suovetaurilia, that is, a bull, a boar, and a ram, were at every quinquennial

penses, dinner or supper, at an inn on the road, for one farthing. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 29. This cheapness of living arose from the

plenty of necessaries subsisting from the industrious agricultural age of Numa.

⁶⁶ Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

muster offered as an expiatory sacrifice or lustrum; for this is the Greek term denoting such a solemnity; and we have seen in a former part of this work, that similar lustrations⁶⁷ of armed men, prevailed from the earliest times in Macedon, the greatest and most renowned of all Greek kingdoms: at the only muster recorded under Servius Tullius, the Romans in arms amounted to 84,700⁶⁸: a military force, which, in the space of 260 years from the death of their last king, (for Tarquin the Proud was a tyrant), gave to this warlike people a firm dominion over Italy, and eventually enabled them to push their conquests on all sides around it, with an uniformity and stability of success, unparalleled in history.

Had Rome, at the conclusion of Servius' reign, passed from a monarchy to a republic, it would have undergone little other change than that of substituting in the stead of kings two annual consuls. But Tarquin the Proud spurned hereditary and legal forms, governed by domestic councils, oppressed his people, and assassinated his nobles. The public indignation, which had been a long twenty years in collecting, exploded in the well known events which followed the tragic death of Lucretia. In establishing, or rather in restoring the republic, the chief merit belonged to Brutus and Collatinus, both of them of Corinthian extraction, since the former descended from the sister of Tárquinius Priscus, and the latter from Aruns, elder brother to that accomplished prince. At their instigation, the Romans banished Tarquin the Proud with his three sons. They were followed into exile by the obnoxious instruments of their tyranny; and abetted, during the space of fourteen years, by the resentment or envy of both Latins and Tuscans. But this long war, levied for the reinstatement of tyrants, redounded wholly to the glory of Rome and of liberty; names ever to be associated with those of Brutus and Valerius; of Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola; of the virgin Clælia; and of the dictator Posthumius, who terminated the fierce struggle by his victo-

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War with
the Tar-
quins. U. C.
245—259.

⁶⁷ See above, c. 1. p. 218.

⁶⁸ Dionysius, *ibid.*

CHAP. ry near the lake Regillus⁶⁹ at the foot of the Tusculan hills.
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Two sons of Tarquin fell in the field: the third had previously perished in an attempt to recover Gabii: the wretched father died next year at Cumæ, a Greek colony in Campania, in which he had found refuge, after the wreck of his fortunes, with Aristodemus, master of that place, and like himself the usurper of sovereignty in a free city.

Division of
Italian wars
under the
consuls.

Before the consular government was established, Rome had gained an ascendancy over the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. From this time forward, until, on the lapse of two centuries, her affairs come to be embodied in the present history, she carried on, I. Perpetual hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci, envious and angry neighbours, inhabiting respectively the mountainous tracts around the Anio and the Liris. II. She had occasional conflicts with the nations previously conquered, whom she therefore regarded as rebels, especially with the Tuscans, who, though cowardly as a confederacy, showed spirit and perseverance in defending particular cities. III. She had to oppose the bloody and desolating irruptions of the Gauls, until she had cowed the courage of that barbarous enemy. IV. She engaged in the long and obstinate conflict with the Samnites, which finally brought her into warfare with the cities of Magna Græcia. Under these four heads, all the Italian wars of Rome naturally arrange themselves, since her more obscure enemies were dependencies or colonies of the nations just mentioned, and never had recourse to arms but in the character of auxiliaries.

Those of
two centu-
ries with
the Æqui
and Volsci.

The Æqui, even in the reign of Ancus Martius, are characterized as a people of high antiquity; and both they, and the Volsci, men of congenial characters, I should regard as the bravest portion of the Siculi, who maintained their hereditary possessions on the continent, when their brethren, as we are informed by the most accurate of histo-

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 19. For the his second book throughout.
events alluded to in the text, see

rians, sought refuge in the neighbouring island, to which they communicated the name of Sicily⁷⁰. Proud of immemorial possession, these fierce clans hated their neighbours in Latium as intruders, lived by prey and plunder, and, from their numerous strong-holds among the mountains, were always ready to pour down on the inviting adjacent plains. Their sudden incursions were followed by rapid retreats, that they might avoid pitched battles with the Romans, over whom they boasted their superiority in desultory encounters, as well as in single combats. From the time that Tarquin the Proud first⁷¹ levied war on the Volsci to their total disappearance in history, that is, for the period of one hundred and ninety-four years, their incursions are described as returning almost regularly with the return of autumn⁷². Their arms were frequently joined by the Æqui, who, resisting twenty-six years longer, finally submitted in the 450th year of the city, and were only subdued by being nearly exterminated, since, in the preceding year, the consul Sempronius stormed and burned forty-one of their strong-holds or cities⁷³. In the course of this unceasing warfare of two centuries, the Romans often brought their enemies to battle, and defeated them commonly with the loss of two or three thousand slain. They also made themselves masters of several of their townships; and it appears extraordinary, that reduced in their numbers and curtailed of their territory, the Æqui and Volsci should so long have found new resources, and retained undaunted resolution. In his perpetual narrative of their resistance or aggression, Livy seems apprehensive, not only of tiring the patience, but of staggering the belief, of his readers. "How is it possible that those miserable districts, which are now rescued from solitude only by Roman slaves, should have

Causes which enabled these nations to make such an obstinate resistance.

⁷⁰ Thucydides, l. vi. p. 412. & seq.

⁷¹ Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 53.

⁷² Ab Æquis et Volscis statum jam et prope solenne bellum in singulos annos timebatur. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 15.

⁷³ Sigonius' emendation reconciles Diodorus, l. xx. s. 102. with Livy, l. ix. c. 45. Claverius Ital. Antiq. p. 776. quotes the latter incorrectly.

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supplied such continual successions of brave military recruits?" He answers by saying, "that each levy must have been confined to persons of a particular age, one race being allowed to spring up before another was entirely cut off; or that the unceasing hostilities of the nations were not carried on by precisely the same cities; or in fine, that the mountains of the Æqui and Volsci must have teemed beyond all example with inhabitants⁷⁴." To the causes assigned by Livy, four others, I think, may be added. Without supposing any unaccountable degree of populousness, it may safely be allowed that the proportion of soldiers to the whole inhabitants was far greater in Italy in those remote times, than in the age of Livy and Augustus. In the first centuries of Rome, arms and agriculture formed the great pursuit of that republic herself; and were the sole occupations followed by her ruder neighbours, who needed few accommodations, who coveted no luxuries, and whose ruling passion was the love of independence. Secondly, by the unskilful engineers of those times, whose attainments by no means kept pace with other branches of the military art, many cities of the Æqui and Volsci were regarded as impregnable fortresses. Though driven from the field, those alert and cautious adversaries generally secured their retreat; and oftentimes, after wasting the harvests of Rome, allowed their own to be burned or destroyed without quitting the protection of their walls⁷⁵. Thirdly, the Æqui and Volsci did not fight unaided. Not to mention the contemporary wars, that will be examined presently, these incessant and irreclaimable enemies drew to their standard numerous volunteers from various parts of Italy; enterprising youths, eager to exercise their impatient valour, and more concealed levies from jealous communities anxious to crush secretly the power of Rome, though they had not courage openly to assail it. Not only more distant

⁷⁴ Liv. l. vi. c. 12.

⁷⁵ In oppida sua se recipere, uri sua popularique passi. Liv. l. iii. c.

3. Similar expressions frequently occur.

states, but the Hernici⁷⁶, a Sabine nation, and even the Latins themselves, were frequently convicted of this clandestine hostility. Fourthly, the colonies which the Romans established as outposts in the territories of their enemies, were, in the course of time, tempted, in some instances, to prefer the connexion by neighbourhood to that by blood⁷⁷, and thus to strengthen the party, which they had been sent out to ruin. In addition to these circumstances, serving to account for the endless wars of the Æqui and Volsci, it may be observed, that mountainous districts, though not essentially more populous than others, are found by experience better to maintain the populousness which at any given time they have acquired: they are not storehouses or arsenals of fighting men, but rather their breeding places and founderies: and whatever numbers you drain off, the populousness again rises to its former level.

In the midst of their long warfare with the Æqui and Volsci, the Romans were engaged in comparatively short but sharp conflicts with the Veientes, their near neighbours in Tuscany, and with the Galli Senones, the most southern clan of the Gauls, who, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, had been pouring their rapacious hordes into Italy. The former of these enemies the Romans totally extirpated; and by the latter, only six years afterwards, were themselves brought to the brink of destruction. The Veientes had submitted, with other Tuscan cities around them, to the arms of the Roman kings; and after espousing the cause of Tarquin the Tyrant, had reluctantly acknowledged the new republic for their master. But in the language of the Roman senate, they rebelled seven times; and one of their earliest rebellions had been fatal on the banks of the Cremera, which flowed through their territory into the Tiber, to the most flourishing family of the republic, 306 Fabii, the whole individuals belonging to

Siege of
Veii. U. C.
351—361.

⁷⁶ The Hernici apologized, "quod suæ juventutis aliqui apud Volscos militarent: nec culpam in eo publicam, nec consilium." But the Romans were not the dupes of this artifice. Vid. Tit. Liv. l. vi. c. 10.

⁷⁷ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 12. et seq.

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that name of an age to bear arms⁷⁸. Provoked at this defeat, and stung with many insults which followed it, the Romans vowed revenge on the hostile towers of Veii frowning from abrupt hills, only eighteen miles distant. The strength of Veii defied assault: the place must be taken by blockade, for which purpose it would be necessary to keep the field many months, perhaps years. The senate therefore decreed, that soldiers, who had hitherto served at their private expense, should receive pay from the public⁷⁹; and that each citizen should contribute towards this expense in proportion to his property or census. The Patricians, and more wealthy among the Plebeians, vied with each other in pouring their money into the treasury. Veii was invested in form: a ditch and rampart, thrown round the place; and, at a due distance, a line of circumvallation drawn to intercept succours to the besieged. The vigour of attack was met with equal vigour of resistance. The Romans kept the field in winter as well as summer; having in this warfare first erected tents, covered with skins. Yet Veii was not taken until the tenth year, when Camillus, by means of a mine⁸⁰, opened a passage to the citadel, at the same time that a general assault was made on the walls. The city became a spoil to the conquerors: and nothing was brought into the public treasury, but the price of the captive

⁷⁸ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 45. et seq. et Dionysius Hist. Roman. l. ix. c. 587.

⁷⁹ The pay of one horsemen was equivalent to that of three foot soldiers; but we are not informed of the exact amount of either. Two centuries afterwards, in the age of Polybius, the Roman infantry received the value of two-pence daily; centurions four-pence, and horsemen sixpence. This daily pay sufficed to provide the soldier with eight meals, or to supply him four days with bread. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 39. In Cicero's time, 100 years after Polybius, the bushel of wheat cost 12 sesterii: that is, it had risen four times in

value. In speaking of early times, Pliny, l. xviii. c. 4. says, *Ergo iis moribus non modo sufficebant fruges, verum etiam annonæ vilitas incredibilis.*

⁸⁰ Livy, l. v. c. 19. says of this mine, *Operum fuit omnium longe maximum et laboriosissimum.* Zanchi examined its remains, and has ventured to give a plate of it in his *Veio Illustrato*. This circumstance, with many others, confirms the notices in Eutropius and in Peutinger's Tables, concerning the long disputed situation of Veii. That city was distant 18 miles from Rome, and 9 from the Tiber. Its ruins were found by Zanchi in the wood of Montelupoli.

Veientes, who next day were sold to merchants accompanying the Roman army. CHAP.
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During the obstinate resistance of this illfated people, who had repeatedly burnt or destroyed the *vineæ*, or Roman engines, the oracle of Delphi had been consulted by the Romans, and had exhorted them to perseverance in the siege. To repay this encouraging response, Camillus dedicated the tenth part of his spoil to the god. A golden vase was cast, and shipped for Delphi. But the vessel, conveying this donation, being captured near the straits of Messina, by pirates belonging to the Liparean isles, Timasitheus, the archon, or first magistrate, of Lipara, procured her restitution, and himself conducted the Romans to Delphi. The senate declared Timasitheus a benefactor to the republic; rewarded him with fit presents; and, an hundred and forty years afterwards, when in the midst of the first Punic war, they made conquest of Lipara, they gratefully remembered his merit, and exempted his descendants from every public burthen⁸¹.

The siege of Veii, which first introduced pay into the Roman armies, should seem the era⁸² of a far more important change: namely, the introduction of their chequer order of battle. Before this time they were armed, like the Greeks, with long spears. From this weapon, the first rank retained the name of Hastati⁸³: this rank consisted, as in Greece, of young men: the second, called Principes, consisted of soldiers in the vigour of life: the third rank, or Triarii, were tried veterans⁸⁴; and to this system of arrangement, according to different ages, the Romans, as well as Greeks, continued unalterably to adhere⁸⁵. But in their chequer order of battle, as commonly understood, the Romans differed from the Greeks and all other nations. The legion, it is well

Donation
to Delphi.

Digression
on the le-
gionary
order of
battle.

⁸¹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 25. & seq. et Plutarch in Camill.

⁸² I infer this from what Livy says, *Clypeis antea Romani usi sunt, deinde postea stipendiarii facti, scuta pro clypeis fecere.* Liv. l. viii. c. 8. We shall see presently the

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connexion between the *scutum* and the chequer order of battle.

⁸³ Varro de Ling Latin. l. iv. c. 16.

⁸⁴ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

⁸⁵ History of Ancient Greece, c.

ix.

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known, contained ten cohorts; the cohort, three maniples; and the maniples two centuries. Had the century denoted precisely an hundred men, the legion thus containing sixty centuries would have amounted to six thousand soldiers. But the *Comitia centuriata*, as regulated by Servius Tullius, accustomed the Romans to employ the term "century" in a looser sense; so that in the 407th year of the city, the legion of sixty centuries consisted only of four thousand two hundred men; which continued to be its ordinary force two hundred years afterwards in the age of Polybius. According to received accounts of the legionary order of battle, the sixty centuries, or rather the thirty maniples into which each legion was divided, were thrown into the form of a *quincunx*; each maniples being a square mass, ten in rank and as many in file, and the whole maniples in the center line standing directly opposite to the intervals in the front and rear. Upon this supposition, the legion drawn up for battle formed not a full line, but a number of square masses, separated by intervals equal or nearly equal to the fronts of the maniples⁸⁶. These wide intervals, however, must have rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the Romans to advance regularly to the charge, or to have maintained due order in time of action. The same chequer order of maniples would also have exposed them in every battle to be attacked in both flanks, and in rear; and if the second line had been posted, as is commonly imagined, fifty feet behind the *Hastati*, even its *pila*, or missile spears resembling those of Homer's heroes, would have been unable to reach the enemy; much more, the *pila*, of the rear guard, or *Triarii*; so that on this system, the inefficiency of men in a Roman army is too absurd for conception.

⁸⁶ The system is explained at large by Lipsius de *Militia Romana*, a work so classical with critics, that Crevier corrects the text of Livy where inconsistent with it. Vid. Crevier Not. ad Liv. vol. ii. p. 704. Could we believe Joseph Scaliger,

Lipsius, borrowed, without acknowledgment, his doctrine concerning the legionary order, from Francisco Patrizio. Patrizio's work is said to have been written in Italian. Vid. Scaligerean. Artic. Lipsius, Edit. Colon. Agrippin. An. 1667.

These inconveniencies are obviated by another, and very different account, of the legionary disposition⁸⁷. Amidst unceasing conflicts with multiplied opponents, the Romans naturally discovered that other weapons, whether manual or missile, were all of them inferior in efficacy to their short massy swords, double edged, sharp pointed, and which, sustained by a proper arm of defence, were adapted alike to all varieties of ground and all descriptions of enemies. To make the best use of such a weapon, they saw the necessity of allowing the swordsman full space around him, and to leave to him this space within the smallest possible compass, they placed the men belonging to the second rank behind the intervals in the first, and the men belonging to the third rank behind the intervals in the second; compensating in safety to the soldier for this loose order by furnishing him with the *scutum*⁸⁸, a shield far more ample than the *clypeus*, which he had before worn. In consequence of this alteration, the Roman tactics became totally different from the Grecian. The Greeks acted in phalanx by the united impression of their mass, the men behind invigorating the impetus of those in the same file before them. But the Romans, not being drawn up in rank and file, for the latter of which no word remains in their language⁸⁹, were obliged, each single combatant, to depend on the strenuous exertions of his strength and activity. Arranged in the quincunx, or chequer order, not of maniples⁹⁰, but of individuals, the legionary

⁸⁷ For what follows I am indebted wholly to the perusal of a treatise in manuscript on the legionary order, by the same excellent friend, to whom, in my History of Ancient Greece, I owed a rational account of the war galleys of the ancients. The public will anticipate the name of General Melville. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. p. 208. fourth edition.

⁸⁸ *Clypeus illis (Macedonibus) Romanis Scutum, majus corpori tegumentum.* Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 19.

⁸⁹ This is sufficient to show that

the file order was not usual among them, though employed in particular instances, as at the famous battle of Zama, where the Romans were placed in direct *back-standing*, and at intervals, to make way for the enemy's elephants. Polybius, l. xv. c. 5. & seq.

⁹⁰ It would be presumptuous to say that the chequer order by Maniples never was employed. Yet, upon a careful examination of all the ancient battles, that are described, I find not any one decisive example of it. The great depth as-

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soldier had, within a given space, the freest scope for the motions of his sword in attack and in those of his shield in defence⁹¹. This chequer disposition was also incomparably the best fitted with such weapons for facilitating the necessary successions in battle to the killed, wounded, or repulsed, whether these successions were made by individuals, by maniples, or by whole ranks: ranks still retaining the technical names of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii; after the long spear or hasta had been totally laid aside, and the whole legion armed alike with the sword and pilum. This latter weapon was six feet long, terminating in a steel point; after discharging which missile spear⁹², the Roman rushed on the enemy with his massy *gladius*. But I return from this technical digression, to the irruption of the Galli Senones.

Irruption
of the Galli
Senones.
B. C. 390.
U. C. 364.

These Gauls, having traversed the lands long occupied in Italy by their brethren, dispossessed the eastern Tuscans and Umbrians of the territories between the rivers Utis and Æsis, extending from Ravenna to Ancona, ninety Roman miles along the coast of the Hadriatic. Not contented with this easy conquest, they marched to Clusium, a city in the heart of Tuscany, only fourscore miles from Rome, threatening the inhabitants with destruction, unless they divided

signed to it by Lipsius is better adapted to the phalanx than to the legion, and something very like his Roman order was practised, under particular circumstances, by Xenophon when he ascended the mountains, and defeated the Colchians. *Expedit. Cyri*, l. iv. p. 341. *Comp. History of Ancient Greece*, vol. iii. c. 26. The same tactics were employed by Philopœmen in the second battle of Mantinæ; of which hereafter.

⁹¹ The beautiful passage in Cicero de Senectut. c. 17. where Ly-sander, upon viewing the plantations of Cyrus, admired *proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines*; and the more beautiful

lines in Virgil, *Georg. ii. v. 280*, where he recommends the planting of trees in a quincunx, as armies are drawn up:

Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,

Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus æquas

Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami:

These passages apply not to the quincunx of maniples, of men, or of clumps of trees, but to the quincunx of individuals in both kinds, which arrangement alone allows either air and soil to the plants, or elbow room to the soldiers.

⁹² Dionysius, Vegetius, et Lipsius de Milit. Roman. l. iii. c. 3.

with them their well cultivated fields. The Clusians, while they negotiated with the invaders, despatched ambassadors to Rome, craving assistance as speedy as their danger was imminent⁹³. The Romans sent by way of mediators between the Gauls and Clusians three brothers of the Fabian family, the most distinguished in the republic for patriotism and boiling valour. The Fabii, according to their instructions, explained to the Gauls, that Clusium being united in strict friendship with Rome, any injury done to it could not be overlooked by their commonwealth, hitherto unacquainted with the Gauls, and desirous of being known to them only by good offices. The Gauls replied, that they doubted not the bravery of the Romans, whom the Clusians had chosen for their protectors: that this people possessed more lands than they needed, and, if they refused to relinquish their superfluity, must prepare for a battle, in which the Romans, as spectators, might witness how far the prowess of the Gauls surpassed that of all other nations⁹⁴. The Fabii remonstrated, but in vain: the Gauls told them, that their rights were in their swords⁹⁵. A battle ensued, in which the Roman ambassadors distinguished themselves conspicuously in the first ranks; and one of them, Quintus Fabius, being carried beyond the van by the impetuosity of his horse, encountered, slew, and spoiled a Gallic chief.

The fall of this chief was communicated, by signal, to the whole invading army. The Gauls sounded a retreat; and stifled their animosity against Clusium, that it might be directed more fiercely towards Rome. Though blind to their own injustice, they were taught by their priests or elders, to discern that of the enemy, and to send messengers before them, demanding the Fabian brothers, as violators of the laws of nations. These laws were from the reign of Numa

⁹³ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 35. & seq.

Alexand. l. i. c. 4.

⁹⁴ Alexander remarked justly, δὲ
 γίγται αὖν ἀπαζοντες. "The Gauls
 were overboasters." Arrian Expedit.

⁹⁵ Se in armis jus ferre. Liv. l.
 v. c. 36.

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interpreted at Rome by the college of heralds⁹⁶, which, upon complaint from the Gauls, denounced the wrath of heaven against the commonwealth, unless the Fabii were surrendered to punishment, as men who had polluted the sanctity of their own official character; for among the Romans an awful sanctity invested every institution, and every agent subservient to the prevention or the termination of hostilities. The senate concurred in reprobation of the unwarrantable proceedings of the Fabii; but in tenderness to persons of such distinguished hereditary worth, referred the ultimate decision to the people, who, instead of delivering into the cruel hands of Barbarians, three illustrious youths, whose fault had originated in an excess of valour, named the Fabii, with three colleagues, for military tribunes. Apprised of this proceeding, the Gauls, who had been slowly advancing southward, precipitated their march to Rome with all the fury of ungovernable rage, declaring to the terrified cities in their way, Rome only to be the object of their vengeance.

Allian rout.
U. C. 364.

News of the approaching danger had scarcely arrived there, when the Gallic train, both cavalry and infantry made its appearance, covering a vast extent of country. It exceeded seventy thousand in number, twice the force which the Romans could immediately march. Headed, however, by their military tribunes, they hastened to meet the invaders; and taking post on the left bank of the Allia, eleven miles from Rome, near its confluence with the Tiber, detached part of their number to seize a neighbouring eminence. Brennus, general of the Gauls, fearful of an attack in flank, determined first to dislodge this detachment, whose resistance,

⁹⁶ The *Feciales* in Rome corresponded with the *Eisprothioi* in Greece. War was not to be levied till formally declared by them; and according to the *Jus Feciale* (the law of nations) could not be justly

declared on any other grounds than those of making reprisals, of repelling or avenging injuries: *omnia quæ defendi, repetique, et ulcisci fas sit.* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 49. Conf. Dionysius, l. ii. p. 131.

short and feeble as it was, saved the main body of Romans from destruction, but saved them at the expense of that pre-eminence in martial glory, which they had long and honourably sustained. The celerity of the Barbarians had obliged them to omit those religious ceremonies which inspire confidence, and prevented them from employing those military precautions which insure victory. Their situation was unusual in taking arms, unauthorized by the college of heralds; and they had to contend with a new and terrible enemy, whose numbers, impetuosity, singular arms, and more singular tactics⁹⁷, heightened the consternation first excited by their savage howlings, sanguinary aspect, and gigantic stature. The Romans fled: one part of them towards Rome, the far greater to Veii⁹⁸.

The conquerors paused in amaze at their easy victory. Apprehending an ambush, they explored the ground on all sides; and when danger in no part threatened them, they began to chant boastfully their warlike songs, to pile in towering trophies the Roman shields, which in the trepidation of flight had been abandoned, and to indulge in that levity of mirth, and those intemperate carousals, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the feasts of victory. Their intermediate position, however, prevented all communication between Rome and Veii; so that those of the routed army, who had entered the former city, regretted as lost, the far greater number of fugitives who had escaped to the latter. Thus reduced in strength, they despaired of being able to withstand the progress of the Gauls, or of defending the wide extent of Rome against the fury of their assault. The helpless crowd, belonging to so vast a city, was encouraged to scatter itself southward, through the inferior strong-holds of Latium; while the priestesses of Vesta were permitted to transport the venerated symbols with which they were intrusted in an opposite direction to the Tuscan city Cære, fifteen miles distant. In performing

⁹⁷ See above chapter x. ⁹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. v, c. 58. Conf. Plutarch in Camil.

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this sacred office, they were assisted by the piety of Lucius Albinus, a poor Plebeian, who, on beholding them after they had passed the wooden bridge across the Tiber, laboriously ascending mount Janiculum, placed them in a cart, in which he was conveying his wife and children to a place of safety. The preference given by Lucius to a religious duty, above the interests of his own family, was extolled by Roman historians, and his name passed in an obscure rumour into Greece, as that of the saviour of Rome⁹⁹.

Rome, except the capitol, taken by the Gauls. B. C. 390. U. C. 364.

But this commonwealth was really saved by most extraordinary public exertions of patriotism and fortitude. On a similar occasion, the Athenians acquired immortal glory by abandoning their *city*, for the sake of their *country*¹⁰⁰. With a magnanimity not less sublime, one part of the Romans invited certain death to render the other invincible. Retarded by their frantic rejoicings, the Gauls advanced not to Rome till the third day after the Allian rout. By this time, the more helpless inhabitants had dispersed over Latium; the men fit to bear arms had fortified themselves in the capitol: while the aged fathers of the republic, disdaining to incumber the warriors, or consume any part of their provisions, seated themselves on their curule chairs, some in the Forum, others in the vestibules of their houses, and desired Marcus Fabius, the high priest, to rehearse to them the form of devotion for the safety of their fellow citizens. This ceremony being performed, they grasped their ivory rods, and calmly waited the approach of the Barbarians. Amidst the dreary solitude and silence which prevailed in Rome, the majesty of such a sight might have overawed the invaders, a nation peculiarly susceptible of new impressions; when a Gaul more audacious than his brethren, insulted the snow-white beard of Marcus Papirius. The venerable senator, with his ivory rod checked the Barbarian, and thereby provoked his impetuous broad sword: the contagious example

⁹⁹ Aristot. apud Plutarch in Camill. vol. i. c. 10.

¹⁰¹ Tit. Liv. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ History of Ancient Greece,

was followed by his bloodthirsty companions, who completed the unresisted massacre¹⁰¹.

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In the sack; which immediately followed, of Rome, the streets in many places were set on fire; by which wanton havoc, the Gauls diminished their own resources for besieging the capitol, now fortified by strong bulwarks in form of a citadel. The want of provisions obliged part of them to quit the blockade; and as the corn in the neighbourhood of Veii had by this time been conveyed thither, the Gauls foraged in an opposite direction, towards Ardea, a Roman colony, twenty miles south of its metropolis. In Ardea there resided an illustrious Patrician, now involved in foul ignominy, instead of the high honours which his services had deserved; and who of all men would have been the best qualified to prevent the evils that had fallen on his country, as he was soon destined gloriously to avenge them. Camillus, after conquering Veii, had celebrated games in the Circus, and triumphed in a chariot drawn by four horses of resplendent whiteness. This pomp offended the jealousy of republicans, by the glare of too conspicuous a prosperity. He was invidiously and most unjustly impeached of peculation, and foreseeing that factious suffrages would prevail, had retired to Ardea in voluntary banishment¹⁰².

But the good fortune of Rome sent Camillus to Ardea. At his instigation, the Ardeans, by a nocturnal march; surprised the Gauls buried in sleep and wine. Many of them were slain; and a party, being driven towards Antium, was totally destroyed by a sally from that place. Meanwhile, the army at Veii had received reinforcements from many neighbouring districts. Only a general like Camillus was wanting to conduct it to victory. Before naming an exile for Dictator, it seemed necessary to the army at Veii to consult the Romans besieged in the capitol, who still preserved all the legal forms of civil polity, passing decrees regularly, as before the

Camillus
Dictator—
Destruction
of the
Gauls.
U. C. 367.
B. C. 387.

¹⁰¹ Tit. Liv. *ibid.*

¹⁰² Plutarch in Camill.

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invasion, in name of the Senate and People. To gain admission to this pent-up majesty of the republic, was a great but not insuperable difficulty; for the Romans had always agents at command, ready for every enterprise. By means of a piece of buoyant bark; Pontius Comipus, an intrepid youth, floated unperceived down the stream of the Tiber; ascended an unguarded precipice on the bank; and communicated to the Romans in the capitol, the wishes of their brethren at Veii. Camillus was voted Dictator: news of his election were conveyed to Veii by the successful return of Pontius thither. The Dictator hastened from Ardea, and, having reviewed his army, immediately led it to Rome¹⁰³.

Before his arrival, the capitol had been narrowly saved from surprise in the night, through the vigilance and valour of Marcus Manlius; a deliverance, however, that seemed of little importance, as the besieged were now perishing from hunger. Meanwhile, the Gauls learned that their own territories had been invaded by the warlike Veneti¹⁰⁴. In haste to protect their homes, they gave intimation that, for a moderate ransom, they would consent to raise the siege. Famine compelled the Romans to listen to this mortifying proposition. Their military tribunes began to weigh a thousand Roman pounds of gold to king Brennus. That dishonest Barbarian had brought a false balance: the tribunes detected his fraud, and weighed the gold fairly: Brennus threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming "such justice belongs to the vanquished." During a transaction, infamous on one side, and ignominious on the other, Camillus entered Rome with his army, and ransomed that city with steel. A dreadful havoc was made of the Barbarians, first in the streets, and afterwards where they made a halt, at the eighth milestone on the road to Gabii. Not a messenger is said to

¹⁰³ Plutarch in Camill.

¹⁰⁴ We learn this important circumstance from Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. It is pertinently introduced by Plu-

tarch, in his Discourse on the Good Fortune of Rome, p. 580. Edit. Ryland.

have returned home, to report the universal destruction of the invaders¹⁰⁵. CHAP.
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The Romans thus recovered their city, but a city in ruins. Rome repaired. That it might be the more speedily repaired, bricks were supplied by the public; and permission was granted of cutting timber, and digging stone wherever these materials abounded. Before the burning of Rome by the Gauls, many houses consisted of several stories, and were adorned by courts and vestibules¹⁰⁶. They were rebuilt, doubtless, with less magnificence; for the owners were obliged to give sureties that the work should be completed within the year; and this desire of expedition prevented due care in straightening the streets, insomuch that the common sewers, which formerly ran below empty spaces, now too frequently annoyed the tenants of well inhabited buildings. The capitol was strengthened with grateful diligence, and its stupendous basis of square stone constructed on this occasion remained a work of conspicuous grandeur in the age of Augustus. Amidst exertions essential to their subsistence or security, the Romans showed peculiar attention to the concerns of religion. This, as Camillus told them, was the primary and most important of all national objects; "since in recalling to mind the vicissitudes of the Veientian and Gallic war, they must perceive that success had uniformly accompanied their

¹⁰⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. Polybius ubi supra et Plutarch in Camill.

¹⁰⁶ Tit. Liv. et Plutarch in Camil. They were thus distinguished from the huts of rustics, whether husbandmen or shepherds. Yet Montesquieu, in speaking of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, says "L'incendie de la ville ne fut que l'incendie de quelques cabanes de pasteurs." Grandeur et Decadence, cap. i. Nothing has propagated more false notions concerning things remote in place or time, than what the French call "l'Esprit," which may often be translated (though surely not in the case of

Montesquieu) "wit without wisdom." The respectable modern writers who talk of the rudeness and barbarism of the ancient Romans think very differently from Cicero as quoted by Augustin. de Civitate Dei. l. xxii. c. 16. "Magis est in Romulo admirandum, quod ceteri, qui Dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur, minus eruditis hominum seculis fuerunt: Romuli autem ætatem, minus his sexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato, fuisse cernimus."

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 XII. resulted from the guilt of an opposite behaviour¹⁰⁷."

From the rebuilding of the city, the Romans were, in the course of one hundred and seven years, brought nine times in competition with the Gauls, in as many tumultuary wars, commonly decided by the events of single battles. Before the end of this period, the Romans discovered that the Gauls had not strength proportional to their stature; that their impetuous courage wanted perseverance or firmness; that, though in their first assaults they were greater than men, in their second they were less than women¹⁰⁸: in fine, that in all things, they were more showy than substantial.

War with
 the Sam-
 nites. U. C.
 414. B. C.
 340.

In the midst of the Gallic wars, and about half a century after the rebuilding of Rome, the commonwealth first engaged in hostilities with a nation of a far more obstinate character. This was the Samnites, a people inhabiting those rough and lofty tracts of the Apennine, which overlook Latium and Campania on one side, the Hadriatic sea on the other; and which diverge in their southern course towards Apulia and Lucania. From their central mountains, they poured down their arms and colonies towards the Hadriatic and Tuscan seas; and eighty years before this period, a party of Samnites surprised Vulturnus, the principal Tuscan settlement in Campania, butchered the inhabitants, and appropriated their city and territory¹⁰⁹. From Capua, the new name of Vulturnus, these daring assassins are commonly called Capuans; and their bloody usurpation of that place, compared with the transactions which we are now going to relate, affords a memorable instance of the change which

¹⁰⁷ Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 54.

¹⁰⁸ Idem. l. x. c. 28. In the account of the Gallic wars, there are considerable differences between Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. et seq. and Livy, l. vi. c. 22. l. vii. c. 9, 11, 23. et l. viii. c. 20. et l. x. c. 27. That Livy used much freedom with other authors as well as with Polybius, will appear from comparing his account of Manlius' combat with the gigantic Gaul,

l. vii. c. 10. and that of Claudius Quadrigarius, preserved in Aulus Gellius, l. ix. c. 13. Quadrigarius was contemporary with Sisenna, who also wrote a Roman history, and flourished in the time of Sylla. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 9. Livy professes to follow Quadrigarius in l. vii. c. 10. et l. viii. c. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

may be operated in the course of fourscore years, on the characters of men, through local circumstances and climate. CHAP.
XII.

The Samnites, in their various encroachments, had hitherto met with no opposition from Rome; and, as they admired the valour and good fortune of this commonwealth in the wars which have just been related, they solicited and obtained the friendship of its magistrates, and were accepted as its allies. Presuming on this treaty, they made war on the Sidicini¹¹⁰, a people of Campania, whose capital was within five miles of the Liris; the eastern boundary of Latium. This war was not coloured with the slightest pretence of justice. The Samnites, descending from the Apennine, had been accustomed to infest many adjacent plains, and they quarrelled with the Sidicini, merely because they were strong enough to plunder them with impunity.

The Sidicini applied for assistance to their neighbours the Capuans, and obtained it from that people whose own safety appeared to be at stake. Both communities were defeated by the Samnites; upon which event, the Capuans sent an embassy to Rome, supplicating protection against fierce mountaineers, with whom they acknowledged, that their own city, populous as it was, and next to Rome, the greatest and richest in all Italy, was totally unable to contend. The senate replied, by the voice of the Consul Valerius, "The Romans would willingly contract friendship with the Capuans; but unfortunately a prior friendship stands in the way. We are allied with the Samnites; on which account we cannot arm in your defence, without violating our duty to the gods, as well as to our confederates; to whom, however, we shall intimate our desire, that they desist from further hostilities." Upon receiving this answer, the spokesman of the Capuan embassy said, according to the instructions brought with him, these memorable words, "Although you refuse, conscript fathers! to protect the Capuans against unprovoked

The Capuans surrender their territory and persons to the Romans. U. C. 414.

¹¹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 29.

CHAP.
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violence, you will doubtless defend your own property. We therefore surrender to you Capua, its people, and territory, and temples. They are all yours; and whatever wrong may be done them is henceforth committed against the supremacy of Rome." The ambassadors then fell prostrate in the vestibule of the senatehouse, with supplicating hands, and tears streaming from their eyes. Historians do not insinuate, that these abject demonstrations might be nothing more than an artful drama, previously concerted with the Romans, for the purpose of enabling them to elude, without dishonour, their treaty with the Samnites. An embassy, however, was sent by them to Samnium of a quite different import from that proposed by Valerius, explaining the recent surrender of Capua; and should friendly admonitions fail, commanding their ancient allies to abstain from injustice towards their new subjects. The Samnian magistrates, assembled in their supreme council, set this mandate at defiance; and in hearing of the Roman ambassadors, ordered their forces into Campania¹¹¹.

Battle near
Mount
Gaurus.
U. C. 414.
B. C. 340.

Their audacity, when made known at Rome, filled all ranks with indignation. The senate despatched heralds into Samnium, to demand reparation of wrongs; and, in case of refusal, solemnly to denounce war. The popular assembly, upon learning that justice was denied, decreed that the consuls, Valerius and Cornelius, should immediately march, the former into Campania; the latter into Samnium. Valerius encamped near Mount Gaurus in Campania, where the eagerness and confidence on both sides soon occasioned a battle; neither the swordsmen, nor the cavalry of the Romans could break the Samnite line, bristling with spears; and the resistance, insurmountable to mere force, was overcome by those transports of military enthusiasm which the Romans displayed in their first conflict with this new and formidable enemy. The Samnites had entered the field against men, whose renown filled Italy, with a resolution to

¹¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 31.

conquer or die; and when asked, after defeat, what had changed their purpose, they said that the eyes of the Romans flashed living flames, blasting opposition; and that their fierce countenances and wild demeanour, it was totally impossible to endure¹¹². The Romans took possession of their camp; the Capuans and other Campanians flocked from all quarters to congratulate the victors. During Valerius' war in Campania, his colleague gained a still more bloody battle in Samnium. Thirty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen. But upon the first appearance of a new enemy to Rome, the Volsci, so often defeated, were in arms: and even success fomented dangerous discontents among the Latins, who had long formed one half of the Roman armies. Meanwhile the greatness of their disasters so much dismayed the Samnites, that when the Consul Æmilius invaded their territory, he was met, not by hostile armies, but by supplicating embassies¹¹³. He therefore granted to them peace, upon receiving three months' provisions, and a year's pay, for his legions.

These legions, indeed, were speedily to be employed in a more domestic warfare. The spirit of mutiny, among the Latins, was fomented by ambitious chiefs, particularly Annius of Setia, and Numicius of Circeii. These men, equally artful and enterprising, maintained that civil society inferred perfect equality of law, and that this equality could only be secured by a fair rotation of magistracy; on which account they insisted that the Latins should enjoy a due share in the consular and senatorian power. At the distance of one hundred and sixty-one years from the victory at the lake Regillus, which had confirmed their supremacy over Latium, the Romans were thus brought into a new war with a people, who boasted the same blood and courage with themselves, who had conformed to the same institutions both civil and military; in a word, who had every thing in common with

CHAP.
XII.

Rebellion
of the
Latins
abetted by
the Cam-
panians.
U. C. 416—
419. B. C.
398—395.

¹¹² Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos—vesanos vultus et furentia ora. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 33. Conf. Plutarch in Pyrrho, p. 398. Edit. Xyland. Valour, he says, was well

understood by Homer, who characterizes it as the only virtue agitated by all the madness of enthusiasm.

¹¹³ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 1.

CHAP.
XII.

them, except their unbending loftiness of patriotism and of policy. These virtues never shone more conspicuously than in the present renewed struggle with the Latins, and the Campanians their rash abettors. In the first great battle fought near the roots of Mount Vesuvius, the Consul Manlius, who twenty years before had despoiled the Giant Gaul, and acquired the surname of Torquatus, inflicted death on his own son for combating beyond the ranks¹¹⁴: the other Consul Decius devoted himself to the infernal gods for the safety of his army¹¹⁵. This moral machinery proved irresistible. The enemy were repeatedly vanquished in Campania; and, upon a renewal of hostilities, completely subdued at the river Astura, and the city Pedum in Latium. Lucius Camillus rivalled the glory of his kinsman Marcus, conqueror of the Gauls; and entering Rome in triumph, referred to the senate in what manner the Latins ought in future to be treated, observing that through the bounty of the gods, it now depended on that council, whether these rebels should any longer exist as a nation.

Treatment
of the van-
quished
and settle-
ment of
the Roman
conquests.
U. C. 419—
422. B. C.
335—332.

That correct justice might be administered, the senate determined, that each community, both of Latium and Campania, should be tried separately. Some states were stripped of their lands; new Roman colonies were established in cities belonging to others; national assemblies, and all federal institutions were thenceforth abolished among the Latins, that these allies might be connected with each other, only through the intervention of Rome. But, in compensation for these severities, the fidelity of Laurentium was rewarded with an equal and honourable alliance. Tusculum retained the privileges of Roman citizenship formerly conferred on it. The same benefits were extended to four other Latin cities; Nomentum, Pedum, Lanuvium, and Aricia; forming at the radius of fifteen or twenty miles from Rome, a half circle on the east of that capital. In Campania, and the adjacent district of the Aurunci, similar im-

¹¹⁴ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 7.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. c. 9.

munities were granted to Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Capua, Suessala; and soon afterwards to Acerra. Colonies were planted at Cales in the territory of the Ausones, and at Fregellæ in that of the Sidicini ¹¹⁶. To the north, as we have seen, the Romans enjoyed many strong-holds, intermixed with the possessions of the Sabines and Tuscans. They now acquired equally important outposts in the south, stretching an hundred and twenty miles from Rome. The number of citizens amounted to nearly two hundred thousand. Thus in Italy, as afterwards in a large portion of the world, the Romans united and rewarded their friends, divided and punished their enemies; and these simple maxims, flowing from plain sense and natural passion, led them more surely to empire, than all the windings of that crooked policy with which their proceedings are sometimes justly branded.

The extension of their ascendancy and power excited much fear and jealousy among the states of Magna Græcia, from Palæopolis the neighbour and elder sister of Naples, to the far distant Tarentum; a republic whose wealth and commercial prosperity had been long marked in the communication of its name to the great adjacent gulph. All these cities, as we have seen, were deformed by the levity and capriciousness incident to the worst form of democracy; and each had too little stability in its domestic councils to inspire its neighbours with respect or confidence. Without wisdom at home, they were destitute of allies abroad. Like Greeks in all parts of the world, they had among them ingenious and able men, whose admonitions they had the folly to despise; generally committing their concerns to ostentatious haranguers, or petulant buffoons, whose congeniality of character raised them to unrivalled credit with the thoughtless multitude. Under the influence of such counsellors, the commonwealth of Palæopolis, wantonly injured the Roman settlers in Campania;

CHAP.
XII.

The extension of the Roman ascendancy alarms Magna Græcia.
U. C. 430.
B. C. 324.

¹¹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 13. and seq.

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and encouraged by the Samnites who, after a breathing time of a dozen years, had resumed their hostility, answered all demands for reparation in terms of defiance ¹¹⁷. Having unwisely provoked the Romans, Palæpolis more unwisely, admitted a garrison of Samnites. The Romans sent an embassy into Samnium, complaining of the assistance thrown into Palæpolis as an infraction of the late peace. The Samnites returned a proud answer, challenging the Romans to meet them in the plain of Capua ¹¹⁸. The ambassadors rejoined, that the legions were accustomed to march whither their own generals commanded them: with all possible despatch, they in fact proceeded under the consul Papirius into Samnium, and, besides committing dreadful ravages on the open country, conquered the walled towns Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruffrium ¹¹⁹.

The address of Charilaus and Nymphius by which they save Palæpolis.
U. C. 431.
B. C. 323.

Meanwhile Publilius Philo, consul of the former year, was continued in command until he should finish the war with the insolent Palæpolitans. By making a judicious encampment he had cut them off from all communication with their brethren in Naples, on the opposite or right bank of the river Sebetus; and, in addition to the usual severities of war, the besieged were dreadfully afflicted by the rapacity, cruelty, and unbridled lust of the Samnites, who were entertained as their protectors. Charilaus and Nymphius, two bold and able citizens, saw no other safety for the place than a speedy surrender of it to the Romans. Having concerted between them the means for effecting this measure, Charilaus repaired secretly to the consul, and acquainting him with his project, subjoined, that it would depend on the treatment of the surrendered city, whether he himself should pass with posterity for a patriot or a traitor. Publilius sent him away with good hopes, and escorted by 3000 soldiers, for whose exertions, his accomplice Nymphius was at this time providing an opportunity. Under the semblance of fierce animosity to Rome, this artful Greek persuaded the Samnites in garrison, that,

¹¹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. c. 23.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. c. 25.

as the principal strength of the enemy was then employed in distant service, it would be easy for them to make a descent on the coast of Latium, and to carry their ravages even to the gates of its capital; for which purpose, however, it would be necessary to set sail secretly in the night time. Agreeably to this plan, all ships in the harbour were put in readiness, and the Samnites, at the close of night, proceeded thither for embarkation. Then was the time for Nymphius to exert his utmost dexterity, and by a number of bold artifices to create confusion and delay, until Charilaus with his Roman escort should arrive, and surprise the nearly defenceless city. The Palæopolitans obtained safety on submission; a few troops belonging to Nola, a town ten miles distant, were glad to escape through the northern gate; while the Samnites betrayed and now deserted by Nymphius, and excluded from the surprised city, which contained all their necessaries, fled in trepidation homeward, in extreme want and half naked, objects of derision and mockery in the different districts through which they passed¹²⁰. We know not how exactly Publilius fulfilled his tacit stipulations with Charilaus. It is certain that from this time forward, Naples, or the new city, rose on the decline of the old, and assumed its proper station as head of the Greek settlements on its beautiful bay. The Romans confirmed the preeminence of Naples, and entered into an honourable treaty with its magistrates.

These transactions were not viewed with unconcern by Tarentum. The defection of the Lucanians, its nearest neighbours, and the submission of the kindred colony of Palæopolis, were the circumstances that occasioned most anxiety. The fate of Palæopolis seemed irrevocable; but the Lucanians, a barbarous and unsteady people, it was hoped, might be again prevailed on to change sides. For bringing them over from the party of the Romans, a stratagem was

CHAP.
XII.

Artifice by which the Tarentines gain the Lucanians to their party.
U. C. 431.
B. C. 323.

¹²⁰ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 26.

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XII.

put in practice that could have been devised only by the profligate artifice of the Tarentines, and that could have proved successful only with the credulous stupidity of the Lucanians. Some youths, more distinguished by their rank in life, than respectable for their characters, were bribed to tear with lashes each other's backs, and then expose their bleeding bodies in the Lucanian assembly, demanding vengeance for these abominable cruelties as inflicted on them by the Romans¹²¹. The multitude beheld, pitied, and called aloud for a meeting of the senate, in which council it was determined to renew the league with Samnium, and to bind the fickleness of the Lucanians by giving hostages to that state, and putting it in possession of several Lucanian strong-holds.

War with
the Sam-
nites and
their allies.
U. C. 452.
B. C. 322.

The confederacy of the Samnites was at the same time joined by the Vestini, one of the numerous colonies of Sabines. The last mentioned people, being confined on the northeast by Umbria, and on the southwest by Latium, had early poured down their plantations along the Hadriatic sea under the various names of Vestini, Peligni, Picentes, Marrucini, while their more illustrious colony of Marsi occupied the central ridges of the Apennine. To repress the Vestini, whose hostilities might be followed by those of many kindred tribes in their neighbourhood, the consul, Junius Brutus, hastened into their territory, and sacked two of their towns, Cutina and Cingalia. His colleague Lucius Camillus was obliged, through bad health, to name Papirius Cursor for carrying on the war in Samnium. The Samnites were twice defeated with great slaughter. Twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen in the battle of Imbrinium. Having consented to furnish clothing, and a year's pay, for the Roman army, they obtained a short truce, which they had the folly to violate. Their country was invaded anew by Cornelius Arvina, and they were compelled to the disgraceful resolution of making atonement for the guilt of the community by surrendering Brutulus Papius, a bold and power-

¹²¹ Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 28.

ful citizen accused as instigator of the war. Papius withdrew from ignominy by a voluntary death. His body and effects, however, were sent in solemn procession to Rome; but the Romans disdained private satisfaction for the public delinquency, and rejected all terms of accommodation with a people who had so often proved themselves void of faith. CHAP.
XII.

This decision was represented as inexorable cruelty by Caius Pontius the bravest of the Samnites, and son to Herennius the wisest of that nation. Pontius exhorted them to consider that war as just which circumstances made necessary and the cause of those as pious whose sole resource was in arms¹²². The Samnites followed him into the field; to resist two consular armies that were expected to enter their country. To receive them, Pontius, adding craft to boldness, took post in the valley of Caudium, the narrowest and darkest in the Apennines. By soldiers, disguised as shepherds, the consuls, Veturius and Posthumius were assured that the Samnites had marched into Apulia, and in the design of following them thither allowed themselves to be decoyed into the most intricate defile of Caudium, overhung by woody rocks, and known by the name of the Caudine Forks. Here their progress was suddenly interrupted. They perceived that the road had been obstructed by trunks of trees and huge masses of rock. The sides of the valley presented unsurmountable precipices. The Samnites were next descried on the contiguous heights. In this extremity the Romans endeavoured to turn back, but found their retreat also cut off by artificial barriers, guarded by the enemy. Pontius consulted his father Herennius, how best to avail himself of this bloodless victory. The wise old man advised him either to grant the Romans entire safety, or to put the whole of them to death. Pontius rejected the extremes of useful mildness, or perhaps more useful cruelty. He exasperated the Romans to irreconcilable enmity by making them pass under the ignominious yoke, at the same time

The Caudine Forks.
—Two Roman legions passed under the yoke.
U. C. 435.
B. C. 319.

¹²² Tit, Liv. l. ix. c. 1. & seq.

CHAP. that he spared their lives on the hollow promise of peace,
 XII. which those who gave it had neither the power nor the will to ratify. Within the space of a few months Papirius Cursor retaliated the disgrace of the Caudine Forks, on a garrison of 7000 Sabines, which he found in Luceria, a city which he wrested from them in Apulia. The war having thus recommenced with wounds to mutual pride, deeper sometimes than those of blood, continued to be carried on with little intermission till the memorable expedition of Pyrrhus, in whose final defeat the fortune of Samnium and all the more southern districts of Italy was involved¹²³.

Events in
 the war
 with Sam-
 nites and
 their allies.
 U. C. 440—
 473. B. C.
 314—281.

In the course of this long conflict, relentless on one side, and desperate on the other, the Romans experienced several severe checks, but never met with any very signal loss; whereas the Samnites, on five different occasions, are said to have left above twenty thousand slain in the field¹²⁴. The bloodiest battles were those of Beneventum in Samnium, and Aquilonia in Apulia, in the latter of which the Roman cavalry decided the battle with well levelled spears, breaking down the enemies' battalions wherever they charged. Next year Fabius Maximus, among other Samnite prisoners, seized the person of Caius Pontius, their intrepid chief, the idol of his country and the shame of its enemies. Pontius adorned the conqueror's triumph, and his death then expiated the ignominy which he had inflicted at the Caudine Forks, on two consular armies¹²⁵. With the loss of their favourite leader, the Samnites lost for a while the spirit of resistance; and having craved and obtained a truce, they were accused of violating their faith for the sixth time. On this last occasion they were powerfully abetted by the Lucanians and the Brutii, and the force of the war was directed towards the Greek colony of Thurium, formerly Sybaris, situate on

¹²³ Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. & seq.

¹²⁴ Id. l. ix. & x. passim.

¹²⁵ Eutropius, l. ii. Orosius, l. iii.

c. 22.

the southern side of the broad Tarentine gulph, opposite to, and seventy miles distant from Tarentum. This colony, called indifferently Thurium or Thurii, had always maintained, as we have seen, a connexion with the mother country, and a dozen years before the war of Peloponnesus had been reinforced by a considerable emigration of Athenians, deriving peculiar honour from the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Lysias, who are numbered among the colonists¹²⁶. To resist the Lucanians and Brutii, by whom it was surrounded, and whose animosity it had provoked by refusing to join in their confederacy with the Samnites, Thurii entered into the closest friendship with Rome, and accepted a Roman garrison for its defence. In consequence of this intimacy with a city that had been long one of the most distinguished in Magna Græcia, the Romans first began to examine as matters of improvement or curiosity, the language and arts of their remote Grecian ancestors¹²⁷. To expel the Romans from Thurii, the Samnites, with their allies, bent the most desperate efforts of their resentment and obstinacy. But the illustrious Fabricius, whose character will appear more conspicuously in the war with Pyrrhus, defeated them in a great battle, and compelled them to raise the siege¹²⁸ only one year before the arrival of that prince in Italy.

In the central territory between the Rubicon and the borders of Campania, the Romans had obtained a still more decided ascendancy. The Æqui and Volsci, the Sidicini and Ausones, who had cooperated in the first scenes of the Samnite war, were punished almost by total extirpation, and their territories were occupied or rather entirely colonized by the conquerors. The Tuscan commonwealths of Perugia, Arretium, Volsinii, fought separately and were successively subdued. Other Tuscan cities were equally

CHAP.
XII.

Thurium becomes the seat of the war, its siege raised. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

Contemporary wars with the Æqui and Volsci, Tuscans and Gauls. U. C. 440—470. B. C. 314—281.

¹²⁶ Conf. Strabo, l. vi. Diodor. l. xii. Plutarch in Pericl. & Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia.

Plutarch in Flamin.

¹²⁷ Appian de Reb. Samn. &

¹²⁸ Liv. Epitom. l. xii. Dionysius Excerpt. Legat. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 6. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

CHAP.
XII.

unfortunate, whether they took arms spontaneously, or were impelled to hostility by the Gauls, who, having first made them the victims of their rapacity, next compelled them to become the instruments of their vengeance in ravaging the Roman territory. The legions, after an interval of forty years, met this new invasion of Gauls at Sentinum in Umbria. Their rattling chariots of war frightened the Roman cavalry, when the consul Publius Decius, in imitation of his father of the same name, devoted himself with equal glory for the safety of his country¹²⁹. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were slain, and eight thousand made prisoners. Nearly ten years, however, elapsed, before the Galli Senones were totally exterminated by the consul Cornelius Dolabella, who reduced their desolated city Sena into a Roman colony, and secured this bulwark against more northern Gauls by a decisive victory over the Boii at the lake Vademon in Tuscany; a victory which happened only four years¹³⁰ before the war with Pyrrhus and Tarentum.

Roman
conquests
and colo-
nies.—
Luceria
and Saticu-
la. U. C.
440—441.

During this tide of military success, the prosperity of the Romans, we may observe, was marked and confirmed by the establishment of colonies. Early in the Samnite war, they colonized the important strong-holds of Luceria and Saticula on the immediate frontier of their enemy. The Umbri were punished for a short defection by being bridled with a garrison in their strongest city Nequinum, or Narni. The same year Carseoli was planted in the country of the Marsi, the bravest of the Sabine race; and shortly afterwards Minturna and Sinuessas, both of them on the frontier of Campania, the former near the mouth of the river Liris, the latter in the Vescian forest: and scarcely four years intervened, before they sent one of their largest colonies to Venusia in Apulia. It consisted of twenty thousand men, and proved of vast importance in maintaining their authority over that extensive district. Upon the whole, previous to the war

Carseoli.
U. C. 456.
Minturna
and Sinues-
sa. U. C.
458.

Venusia.
U. C. 462.

¹²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28.

¹³⁰ Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legit.

of Tarentum, they should seem to have established at least thirty colonies in different parts of Italy¹³¹. CHAP.
XII.

The Tarentines, as we have seen, had descended to the vilest artifices, for interposing a strong barrier between the manly valour of Rome and their own voluptuous effeminacy. But when they perceived that, by the falling of one people after another, the war was brought to their borders, anger carried them to an act of capricious rashness, which could have been committed only by a city like Tarentum, the abstract and essence of the most corrupt democracy. It happened that the Romans in ten decked ships, a force sufficient to protect them against pirates, sailed, probably from Thurii, to survey¹³² the neighbouring coasts of Magna Græcia; and being still at peace with Tarentum, prepared to enter that port as into a friendly harbour. Many Tarentines were then assembled, as was customary with a people who lived only for pleasure, in their magnificent and spacious theatre, from which they had a distinct view of all vessels which approached their coast. Upon sight of the Roman ships, the spectators were thrown into an uproar. The consciousness of their own injuries, made them suspect the strangers of hostility. Philocharis, nicknamed Thais, the most profligate of men, and therefore the most acceptable to the multitude, cried out, that the guardships in the harbour must be launched, and the Barbarians repelled. His orders were obeyed; the Romans betook themselves to flight; five of their ships escaped, four were sunk, one was taken, and its crew either slain in making resistance, or dragged into slavery. Proud of this inglorious victory, the Tarentines hastily marched to Thurii, compelled its slender garrison to capitulate, banished the nobles, and plundered the city¹³³.

Instead of proceeding immediately to punish those enormous outrages, the Romans, according to their law of nations, The Tarentines destroy a Roman fleet, U. C. 470. B. C. 284.

¹³¹ Liv. l. x. & xi. passim. Conf. Edit. Schweigh.
Strabo, l. v.

¹³² Εθίατο την μεγάλην Ελλάδα. Appian de Rebus Samnit. c. vii, p. 57. ¹³³ Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 743. & seq. Conf. Appian ubi supra.

CHAP.
XII.Posthumius. U.C.
472. B.C.
282.

sent an embassy to Tarentum, with demands of satisfaction. The embassy was headed by Lucius Posthumius, a man of consular dignity. It was admitted to the bar of the Tarentine assembly, convened, as often happened in Greek cities, in the great theatre. But before the ambassadors declared the subject of their mission, their dress, their appearance, and as soon as they began to speak, the inaccuracies of their language and pronunciation, (for they made use of the Greek tongue), excited derision and mockery among the petulant rabble. Upon their demand, that the authors of most unprovoked violence, against the Romans and their allies, should be surrendered to condign punishment, they were hissed contumeliously from the theatre; and the buffoon Philonides, (for the names of such wretches only occur in the history of Tarentum), followed closely after Posthumius, and lifting up his own garment, defiled with his excrement, the senatorian purple. The grinning multitude claimed his beastly insult for their own, while Posthumius calmly declared that the blood of the Tarentines should wash the stain from his laticlave ¹³⁴.

They invite Pyrrhus to command them. U.C.
473. B.C.
281.

That wretched people, uniting in an extraordinary degree the weakness of folly with the vices of false refinement, thus provoked the resentment of Rome, without possessing the first requisite in war, a good general. As a free and commercial state, their walls defended them against neighbouring Barbarians; their fleet, against foreign enemies; they were jealous of military power, and careless of military merit; and their ancestors, on various occasions, to avoid employing commanders among themselves, who might have been tempted to become tyrants, had usefully engaged in their service, generals formed in the experienced schools of Greece and Sicily. In compliance with such precedents, the Tarentines, in looking abroad for a stranger qualified to defend them, cast their eyes on Pyrrhus of Epirus. This prince, who boasted his descent from the heroic lines of Hercules and Achilles, had in early youth been expelled by treason from his heredi-

¹³⁴ Dionysius, *ibid.*

tary kingdom. He had long followed the fortunes of Antigon-
 nus and Demetrius, and in their cause signalized his valour
 at the great decisive battle of Ipsus in Phrygia. The misfor-
 tunes of Demetrius, after the death of his father in that battle,
 reduced Pyrrhus to the condition of an hostage at Alexan-
 dria with the first Ptolemy; where, by his activity and address
 in hunting and the gymnastic exercises, he gained high
 favour with the king, and by the regularity of his morals, ac-
 companied with assiduity and flattery, so strongly ingratiated
 himself with queen Berenice, that in preference to many illus-
 trious suitors, he obtained in marriage her daughter Anti-
 gone. This alliance with the dower of troops and treasures
 which followed it, reinstated Pyrrhus in his kingdom of
 Epirus. After his reestablishment there, he had, upon the
 death of Antigone, espoused Lanassa, daughter to Agatho-
 cles of Sicily, in virtue of which marriage he laid claim to the
 isle of Corcyra, and was assisted by some galleys belonging to
 Tarentum, in effectuating his designs against that island.
 Fortune for a moment had flattered him with far higher ac-
 quisitions; he had gained the kingdom of Macedon from the
 capricious Demetrius, lost it to the warlike Lysimachus, and
 was again on the point of contending for it with the detesta-
 ble Ptolemy Keraunus, when the ambassadors of Tarentum
 and her allies gave a new direction to his arms ¹³⁵.

According to the custom of that age, the ambassadors pre-
 sented him with crowns of gold as tributes of respect from
 their several cities. They assured him, that the strength of
 the seaports in Magna Græcia, and of the Italian confede-
 rates around them, exceeded three hundred thousand infantry
 and twenty thousand cavalry; a mighty force which they
 were desirous of intrusting to the greatest of Greek generals,
 that he might employ it against an upstart and arrogant re-
 public on the banks of the Tiber. Pyrrhus needed not the
 encouragement of this alluring exaggeration. His ancestors,

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Actual cir-
cumstances
of that
prince.

His great
views—He
makes sail
for Italy.
U. C. 473.
B. C. 281.

¹³⁵ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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as we have seen, had fought with glory in defence of the Greek colonies in Italy; his affinity with the house of Agathocles gave him a personal concern in the affairs of Sicily and even of Africa; and his own genius, being vast and romantic, and emboldened by great, sudden, and most unlikely strokes of good fortune, he presumed to take the great Alexander for his model, and doubted not his abilities to effect in one half of the world a revolution similar to what his renowned kinsman had accomplished in the other. Through the peninsula of Asia, the son of Philip had ascended to universal empire in the East; Pyrrhus hoped to make the peninsula of Italy, the ladder by which he was to attain an equal supremacy in the West. Under such flattering delusions, he immediately despatched to Tarentum his lieutenant and friend Cineas the Thessalian at the head of 3000 men; and being furnished with transports by his allies in Magna Græcia, followed in person with a far greater force, partly raised in Epirus, and partly received from Ptolemy Keraunus on condition of leaving that murderous usurper in quiet possession of Macedon. This second embarkation consisted of twenty thousand heavy armed infantry, three thousand horse, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants¹³⁶: a well composed army which, by the Greeks of that age, might very reasonably have been deemed capable of achieving mighty exploits among barbarous nations.

His proceeding at
Tarentum.
U. C. 473.
B. C. 281.

The first imprudence of Pyrrhus was that of setting sail at the stormy opening of spring, in consequence of which rashness his transports were scattered by a tempest, and even his own galley wrecked on the coast of Messapia. The inhabitants of that extensive district, surrounding on the land side the territory of Tarentum, who had entered into all the views of their Grecian neighbours, received, with the most respectful courtesy, a prince who had braved every danger in hastening to their aid. Pyrrhus advanced to Tarentum at the

¹³⁶ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

head of little more than two thousand men; he was met on the way by an escort under Cineas; and a few days after his arrival at the place of destination, most of his transports reached its capacious harbour in safety. The Tarentines had suffered much uneasiness during the storm by which the king's ships were assailed; and fearing the immediate vengeance of Rome, had pusillanimously pent themselves up within their walls. Pyrrhus exhorted them to employ nobler means of safety. By his orders, an exact account was taken of the males fit to bear arms. Levies were made with all possible expedition; and the king, soon discovering the cowardice of the people with whom he had to do, charged the pressmasters to bring him personable men, such as had size and strength, saying, that it would be his own business to fashion them into soldiers ¹³⁷. In conformity with this resolution of rendering Tarentum a place of arms, the number of useless holidays was reduced; unseasonable solemnities were proscribed; an order was issued for shutting up the public walks and gardens, the porticoes of prating politicians, the gymnasia for superfluous exercise, above all, the infamous bagnios, those vile resorts of all the vices that lazy voluptuousness carries in her train. Instead of the general whom they had voluntarily chosen, the Tarentines began to complain that they had found a cruel tyrant ¹³⁸. Pyrrhus treated these murmurs as sedition, some of the more audacious demagogues, he is said to have taken off by assassination: others of them, he ordered under various pretences into Epirus ¹³⁹, governed in his own absence by his son Ptolemy, nephew on the mother's side to Ptolemy Philadelphus then reigning with great glory in Egypt.

There was in Tarentum a certain Aristarchus, a man of much eloquence and address, and so universally acceptable to his countrymen, that Pyrrhus was at some loss by what means most safely to remove him. To ruin the credit of this

Aristarchus the Tarentine demagogue escapes to Rome.

¹³⁷ Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 1.

¹³⁹ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

¹³⁸ Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 3.

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favourite, he affected to take Aristarchus into his most intimate confidence; and, mingling with the severe discipline of camps the cruel artifices of courts, caused it to be industriously circulated that the measures most displeasing to the Tarentines had all of them been suggested by this able counsellor. Soon afterwards, Aristarchus was despatched on pretence of an honourable commission to young Ptolemy, viceroy in Epirus. He embarked without any apparent reluctance, but determined in his own mind to elude the base arts of the king by still more perfidious address; for he was no sooner beyond the reach of Tarentum, than he commanded his pilot to steer for the coast of Latium, and was received cordially at Rome as a person well qualified to serve the commonwealth¹⁴⁰. From him, the Romans first learned the vigorous preparations of the enemy: that the Messapians, Lucanians, and Samnites were ready to cooperate with the Greeks; and that embassies had been sent to the Tuscans, Umbri, and Gauls to rouse against Rome the ill stifled animosity of these nations, and to make them take part in a war that would assuage their utmost hatred.

A legion, consisting of 4000 Campanians, massacres the Rhegians, and usurps their city. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

The first care of the Romans was to secure the fidelity of their allies. They next sent a legion of 4000 men to protect the inhabitants of Rhegium, who, though Greeks by blood and language, were Romans in affection. But it unfortunately happened that the greater part of this legion consisted of licentious Campanians, headed by their countryman Decius Iubellius, a wretch capable of every enormity. The Campanians beheld from Rhegium the towers of Messenè on the opposite side of the Strait, and the sight reminded them of the successful villany of their now envied brethren. Iubellius exhorted them, in the midst of the present general convulsion of Italy, to imitate the bold example which would crown them with wealth and power. The design was executed as fiercely as it had been cruelly conceived. The unsus-

¹⁴⁰ Zonaras, Plutarch.

pecting Rhegians were massacred; their women and property became a spoil to the murderers; and those abominable assassins, having soon entered into a confederacy with their neighbours of Messenè, brethren to them in blood and infamy, set the resentment of Rome at defiance, and styled themselves the new commonwealth of Rhegium¹⁴¹. We shall see in due time the late but dreadful vengeance which overtook the contriver and the actors in this perfidious and murderous enterprise.

Meanwhile the consul Coruncanius, having marched northwards to repress insurrections in Tuscany, the concerns of the south were committed to his colleague Lævinus. He proceeded into Lucania, and encamped on the left bank of the Siris, which, after watering the Plataean settlement Pandosia, flows into the Tarentine gulph near Heraclæa, a colony of Tarentum. Pyrrhus was also in the field, but still unaccompanied by his auxiliaries. Lævinus hoped to fight him before their arrival; and having received from him a herald with the proposal of submitting to his arbitration the differences between Rome and Magna Græcia, the consul made reply, "that his countrymen neither desired Pyrrhus for their judge, nor feared him as their enemy." That he might discover the foundation of this extraordinary confidence, Pyrrhus employed fit emissaries to examine the number and quality of the adverse army. They were detected, however, and conducted to Lævinus, who, instead of punishing them as spies, ordered them to be shown every thing at the greatest leisure. They were then dismissed to their employer, with the information, that a second, and far greater army, than that which they had just reviewed, was ready to take the field. The king scarcely believing his own agents, ventured to reconnoitre in person the quadrangular camp of the Romans, and when he had accurately surveyed the judicious plan of the whole, and the nice configuration of the parts, exclaimed to Megacles, one of his generals who accompanied

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Pyrrhus
defeats the
Romans on
the river
Siris, and
advances to
Praeneste
within 25
miles of
Rome.
U. C. 474.

¹⁴¹ Polybius, l. i. c. 7. & Diodorus Eclog. xxii. 2. p. 494.

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him, "These Barbarians have nothing barbarous in their encampments; we shall see, whether the bravery of their actions corresponds with the skill of their dispositions." But every thing, that he had yet heard or seen, inclined him to avoid a battle before the arrival of his expected succours. For this purpose it was necessary to defend, if possible, the passage of the Siris. His movements, however, with this intention, were ill concerted and unsuccessful. The Romans passed the river with little molestation. A general action ensued, in which the legions were seven times repelled by the Phalanx, and seven times returned to the charge¹⁴². Pyrrhus performed prodigies of valour; his horse was killed under him, and Megacles, who fought in the royal garb, was mistaken and slain for his master. The victory of the Greeks was due to the compact arrangement of their Phalanx; to the terror occasioned among the Roman horse by the appearance and noise of the elephants; and to the rapid evolution and resistless irruption of the Thessalian squadrons, whose superiority was conspicuous in all the combats of cavalry during that age. According to the most moderate computation, the Romans lost 7000 men; the Greeks, about half that number: the vanquished, abandoning their camp, retreated into the still friendly district of Apulia: Pyrrhus, after burying even the enemy's slain, out of respect to their valour, hastened into Campania in order to make conquests, or gain allies through the fame of his glorious victory. His attempts failed against Naples and Capua; he captured Fregellæ, a Roman colony on the Siris, and from thence proceeded to Præneste within twenty-five miles of Rome.

Occurrences in the negotiation about exchange of prisoners.

By this time two legions had been raised with a view to reinforce Lævinus; and his colleague Coruncanius had returned triumphant from Tuscany. Pyrrhus, in consequence of this intelligence, perceived his danger of being inclosed between two consular armies. He resolved, therefore, to return southward with his spoil and prisoners to Tarentum, sus-

¹⁴² Plutarch in Pyrrho.

pecting that Italy was not the country in which it would be easy for him to gather laurels. This suspicion was much strengthened by occurrences which immediately followed. The Romans sent to him a deputation of three senators, Dolabella and Æmilius, famous for the reduction of the Galli Senones¹⁴³, and Fabricius who had more recently in the defence of Thurii signalized his skill and valour against the Samnites and Lucanians. Pyrrhus fondly hoped that they had come to treat of peace, but their only errand was the exchange of prisoners, particularly their captive knights, of whom 1800 had fallen into the enemy's hands in consequence of the disorder produced by his elephants among the Roman cavalry. Pyrrhus, gratuitously released 200 of the number, and allowed the whole remainder to return to Rome on their parol that they might celebrate the Saturnalia. According to the Greek custom, he entertained the ambassadors at his table; and on this occasion, when Cineas, the king's minister and friend, was explaining the fashionable philosophy of Epicurus, "that pleasure was the greatest of goods, and that the gods were neither delighted with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes," Fabricius exclaimed, "may such principles actuate Pyrrhus and his allies while they continue at variance with Rome!" The king had already acknowledged the worth of Fabricius, as a man whom he could neither scare by his elephants, nor corrupt by his gold: his simple word had been declared a certain pledge for the return of the Roman prisoners; and when they actually returned, Pyrrhus, in admiration of proceedings so unlike to what he had been accustomed to meet with in the wars of the East, sent Cineas to the senate with offers of peace and the restoration of all prisoners unransomed on condition that Magna Græcia should be left unmolested, and that, for its future security, the Romans should evacuate their strong-holds in the neighbouring districts of Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia. At the instigation of Appius Claudius

¹⁴³ Dionys. Halicarnass. Excerpt. Legation.

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Cæcus, so named from his blindness, the senate rejected all terms of accommodation, and even determined not to receive any new proposal from Pyrrhus, while he remained in Italy with an army¹⁴⁴.

Obstinate
and undécisive bat-
tle of Ascu-
lum in
Apulia.
U. C. 475.
B. C. 279.

In consequence of this transaction towards the end of winter, the king invaded Apulia early in the spring: he gained some towns by assault, and others by capitulation. But his success terminated on the arrival of the consuls Sulpicius and Decius, the latter of whom was son and grandson to the two Decii, who had successively devoted themselves to voluntary and certain death in the service of their country; events of which both Pyrrhus and his soldiers were apprised. As that prince, however, had kept up a communication by sea with Epirus, and the Lucanians and Samnites had by this time joined his standard, the strength which he now mustered was fitted to inspire confidence. It exceeded forty thousand men. The Romans led against him two consular armies, each consisting, as usual, of two legions with a due proportion of auxiliaries; so that their force fell short by about one fourth of that of the enemy. To resist his elephants, the Romans accoutred their strongest horses in plates of iron, and yoked them in chariots blazing with firebrands, and bristling with iron forks. It appears not, however, that this contrivance was made available in action. The battle was fought at Asculum in Apulia, and the field so obstinately disputed, that it is said to have contained fifteen thousand slain on either side, when the approach of night left the victory still doubtful. The phalanx remained impenetrable, until a detachment being sent by Pyrrhus against the Apulians who had broken into his camp, discomposed and discouraged the Epirots, and thus producing a fluctuation in their line, gave admission, in various parts, to the Roman swordsmen. The consul Decius had fallen in the beginning of the engagement, and near the close of it, Pyrrhus was severely wounded, with a pilum.

¹⁴⁴ Plutarch, *ibid*.

Next day, though both parties claimed the superiority, yet both thought fit to retreat; Pyrrhus, to Tarentum; the Romans, to the friendly strong-holds in Apulia. The dreadful carnage on both sides is attested indeed by the long inactivity which followed it: and Pyrrhus when congratulated on his victory, said frankly, "Another such, and we are undone." During the remainder of the campaign, he showed no inclination to risk a second general engagement; and when the new consuls Fabricius and ~~A~~milias entered the field against him in the spring, an event happened which made him more desirous than ever of accommodating his differences with the Romans ¹⁴⁴.

The king's physician, with equal levity and baseness, sent a letter to Fabricius, offering for a due reward to poison his royal master. Fabricius immediately transmitted this letter to Pyrrhus, accompanied with another from himself to the following purport. "You make an unhappy choice of your friends and of your enemies, as the writing herewith sent will afford proof. Your hostilities are directed against honest men, while you repose confidence in villains. This communication is not made through regard to your safety, but lest the Romans, if any misfortune happened to you, should ever be suspected of having employed expedients unworthy of them." Pyrrhus exclaimed, that in this letter he recognised the soul of Fabricius, a man not to be diverted from the path of rectitude, any more than the sun from its course ¹⁴⁵. He immediately despatched Cineas to Rome with rich presents, and the release of all prisoners. The Romans, both in their individual and collective capacity ¹⁴⁶, rejected his presents, and claiming no remuneration for an act of mere justice, they sent back an equal number of prisoners in exchange, but firmly maintained their first resolution of not hearkening to any terms of accommodation, until the king should withdraw from Italy.

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Treachery
of Pyrrhus'
physician
discovered
to him by
Fabricius,

¹⁴⁴ Plutarch, *ibid*.

¹⁴⁵ Plutarch in *Pyrrho*.

¹⁴⁶ Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 5

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Pyrrhus
sails to
assist the
Greeks in
Sicily
against the
Carthagini-
ans and
Mamer-
tines.
U. C. 475.
B. C. 279.

His great
successes in
that island.

To this resolution Pyrrhus was shortly afterwards deter-
mined by the magnimity of the Romans, his own inconstancy,
and an emergency altogether independent on these causes,
but which strongly cooperated with them. This was an in-
vitation from the Greeks in Sicily, harassed at the present
crisis by evils above explained, and who saw no other de-
fence but the arms of Pyrrhus, whose marriage with the
daughter of Agathocles gave him strong claims in their
island, against the usurpations of the Carthaginians on one
side, and the rapacity of the Mamertines on the other. The
Carthaginians had not been inattentive to his Italian war-
fare. They had long looked to that quarter as presenting
most danger to their republic; but Magna Græcia, not Latium,
was the object of their jealousy. The strength of Carthage
had been shaken and bent by the invasion of Agathocles,
Pyrrhus, with equal abilities, was animated by not less ardent
ambition. The Carthaginians, therefore, most heartily wished
success to Rome, in the defensive war which she waged with
that prince, and had even made offers of sending a fleet to
her assistance, if that should be deemed necessary ¹⁴⁷. With
such apprehensions, we must refer to that instability above
explained in their councils, in order to comprehend the
extreme remissness with which they guarded the straits of
Messina; for Pyrrhus, upon the pressing solicitations sent to
him from Sicily, having left a garrison in Tarentum, imme-
diately embarked for that island, touched at Tauromenium,
landed at Catana, and uninterrupted by the Carthaginians,
marched with an increasing army towards Syracuse. Thurion
and Sosistratus, who, as we have seen, held a divided so-
vereignty in that city, intrusted to his command its whole
military and naval force. He was joined by Tyndarion, the
general of Tauromenium; Agrigentum expelled its Cartha-
ginian garrison; the insurrection in his favour was universal
throughout the island; and Pyrrhus saw at his disposal up-

¹⁴⁷ Diodor. Eclog. xxii.

ward of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a fleet of two hundred galleys, which were employed by that prince with an activity and effect worthy of his ambition. The Carthaginians were driven to the western corner of the island distinguished by the promontary Lilybæum, after they had lost Panormus on the northern, and Selinus on the southern shore. At the other extremity of Sicily, near the promontory Pylorus, Pyrrhus' detachments had proved equally successful against the Mamertines of Messene. The hostilities of these Banditti had been repressed, their rapacious collectors had been made prisoners, they had been beat from their strong-holds in the country, and were cooped up within the walls of their capital. Lilybæum and Messene, at the mutually remotest points of Sicily, were the only places that held out against the arms of the invader¹⁴⁸.

In Lilybæum, the Carthaginians resisted with unabating vigour; and being masters of the neighbouring sea, continually multiplied the means of defence by new supplies of men and provisions, of arms and military engines. Pyrrhus besieged the place for two months, and is said to have performed prodigies of valour, worthy of his ancestor Achilles. But his soul, equally impatient, was not proof against the irritations of delay; his temper was completely overset; he thirsted for speedier vengeance, and the example of Agathocles had taught him that the enemy was most vulnerable in Carthage. His resolution to invade Africa was followed by most obnoxious measures for carrying the design into execution. In the pressing of sailors for his fleet, his agents were guilty of such cruelties, as inflamed the hasty temper of the Sicilians into mutiny. The punishment of their ringleaders only exasperated their fury, and the exertions of this fury were repressed by new acts of tyranny. Those of Pyrrhus' advisers, who exhorted him to persevere in coercion, were alone in credit with him; and all who would

His impatience in the siege of Lilybæum and rash proceedings thereon.
U. C. 478.
B. C. 276.

¹⁴⁸ Diodorus and Plutarch.

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have persuaded him seasonably to relax his rigour, not excepting those by whom he had been invited into the island, and by whom chiefly his authority in it had been established, were heard with disgust, treated with suspicion, and many of them punished as traitors. In consequence of such proceedings, his standard was universally abandoned by the islanders¹⁴⁹; and a new armament from Carthage, threatened to overwhelm the puny force of his faithful Epirots.

His return
to Italy—
State of the
war in that
country.
U. C. 478.
B. C. 276.

In this distressful perplexity, the natural result of his own headstrong folly, Pyrrhus was glad to escape from Sicily, as from a vessel tempest-tost and unmanageable, and to seek rather honourable than safe refuge in his renewed war with the Romans. That people, though afflicted with a malady, which under the name of pestilence had raged above twenty times at Rome since the foundation of the city, had, during Pyrrhus' absence in Sicily, gained successive victories over the Lucanians and Samnites, and made themselves masters of the Greek cities, Lucri, Heracleæ and Crotona; the last of which was surrounded by strong walls twelve miles in circuit. Their armies had undertaken a new invasion of Lucania and Samnium, when Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, after being pursued at sea by the Carthaginians, and at land by the Mamertines, the latter of whom, having crossed the Frith, much harassed his march. But notwithstanding these afflicting circumstances, he found to his joy, that the yet independent Greek cities, reinforced by all the surrounding Barbarians, the Brutii, Salentines, Lucanians Messapians, and Samnites, had combined towards one vigorous exertion for resisting the domination of Rome. Of the forces collected from so many nations, the smaller division marched into Lucania, to keep in check the Consul Cornelius Lentulus, who had entered that district; while Pyrrhus at the head of eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse proceeded to offer battle to his colleague Curius Dentatus in Samnium.

¹⁴⁹ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

The Romans had encamped on a rough and woody spot, near a city then called Maleventum, learning from experience that such ground was most unfavourable to the Phalanx. They had also provided themselves with ignited weapons of an improved construction, which were successfully employed against the terror of the enemy's elephants¹⁵⁰. These precautions, and still more their valour in the time of action were rewarded with a memorable and decisive victory. Above thirty thousand of the enemy were counted among the slain, while the prisoners amounted to only thirteen hundred, for the Consul Curius determined, by the greatness of the carnage, to break at once the force of so formidable a confederacy¹⁵¹.

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Decisive
battle of
Maleven-
tum in
Samnium.
U. C. 479.
B. C. 275.

The battle of Beneventum, for thus, by a greatful change, the place was thenceforth named, proved completely decisive; and determined Pyrrhus who had nothing of the perseverance of Alexander, his boasted model, to cross the Ionian sea with all convenient expedition. To cover his shame he amused the allies who had unhappily confided in him, with a promise of speedy and more effectual aid; and to promote this delusion condescended to the meanness of reading to them many counterfeit letters which he pretended to have received from his own and the neighbouring kingdoms¹⁵². Having then left Milo, one of his officers, to guard the citadel of Tarentum, he passed into Epirus, carrying with him only eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. By singular good fortune, he regained for a moment, possession of Macedon; but lost that kingdom, his son Ptolemy, and his own life, by an unseasonable invasion of Peloponnesus. He fell combating in the streets of Argos, not by the hand of any rival champion, but killed by a tile from a house top, thrown by an anxious mother, who snatched her only son from danger by destroying his assailant. Thus perished Pyrrhus, in death, as well as in his whole life, the sport of contingencies; a great

Pyrrhus'
return to
Greece,
and sub-
sequent
fortunes.

¹⁵⁰ Orosius, l. iv. c. 2.

¹⁵² Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vi. c. 6.

¹⁵¹ Plutarch in Pyrrho

CHAP. XII. warrior¹⁵³ who gained only useless victories; an artful politician, who formed only unsuccessful projects; a meteor which blazed fiercely for a time, leaving no traces behind it; since his bold sanguinary career terminated only in transmitting his little kingdom of Epirus, much exhausted in wealth and strength to a prince named Alexander, born to him by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles. Besides this Alexander, Lanassa brought to her husband Nereis, married to Gelon of Syracuse, and involved, as we shall see presently, in the disasters which ruined the family of that prince. Alexander the son of Pyrrhus, was succeeded by a descendant named Ptolemy, in whose daughter Deidamia, the race of the *Æacidæ* became extinct; and Epirus was erected into a commonwealth, whose transactions, until it was reduced with peculiar circumstances of cruelty under the Roman yoke, will be embodied in a following part of this history.

The Romans reduce the Tarentines and their allies.
U. C. 482.
B. C. 272.

In less than two years after the repulse of Pyrrhus, the Romans completely reduced his allies, the Lucanians, Samnites, and Tarentines. Upon his first arrival in Italy, the Carthaginians we have seen, had made offers of assistance to Rome: they now changed their policy in consequence of the Roman preponderancy, and endeavoured to save Tarentum from the grasp of the victorious commonwealth. That place was taken: and the squadron which they had sent to defend it, sowed the seeds of the first Punic war which broke out eight years afterwards. Rome at length enjoyed leisure to punish her infamous legion, which being sent to the protection of Rhegium had banished or butchered the citizens of that place, and appropriated their wives, children, and effects. During ten years that these wretches had usurped Rhe-

Punish the treacherous usurpers of Rhegium.

¹⁵³ Plutarch through his excessive predilection for Pyrrhus, is betrayed into a contradiction. In speaking of the famous conference between Scipio and Hannibal, at Ephesus, he says that Hannibal pronounced Pyrrhus the *first* of all generals; Scipio the second; and himself the third. Plutarch in Pyr-

rhus, p. 687. Edit. Xyland. But the same author, in speaking more expressly of what passed at the above mentioned conference, makes Hannibal assign the first place to Alexander: the second to Pyrrhus the third to himself. Plutarch in Flamin. p. 381.

gium, they had maintained an intimate correspondence with their fellow assassins, the fierce Mamertines of Messene. CHAP.
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The two cutthroat communities, separated only by a narrow frith, mutually abetted each other's enormities; and, during Pyrrhus' wars in Italy, ravaged many parts, both of that country and of Sicily. The time was now come for destroying the one of those confederates in guilt, and thereby much weakening the other. Soon after taking Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Rhegium. The assassins made a furious resistance. Of four thousand, their original number, only three hundred were dragged in chains to Rome, and there scourged and beheaded¹⁵⁴. Their leader Decius Iubellius, is cited as an example of that sacred vengeance, which usually pursues enormous wickedness. Having passed from Rhegium to Messene, and being seized there with a malady in his eyes, he applied to the most eminent surgeon of the place to which he had come, who happened to be a native of that from which he had removed. This surgeon administered to him an application, which totally destroyed his eyesight: and, having thus avenged the assassination of his fellow citizens, provided for his personal safety by a precipitate flight from Messene. The blind Iubellius had returned to Rhegium before the capture of that city; and only escaped the public execution which awaited him at Rome, by killing himself in prison¹⁵⁵. The Romans collected the remains of the dispersed Rhegians, and reinstated them in their possessions, their laws, and their liberties¹⁵⁶.

Vengeance
that pursued
Decius
Iubellius.

In the interval of eight years that elapsed from the taking of Tarentum to their war with the Carthaginians for Sicily, they completed the conquest of that part of the peninsula Romans
complete
the conquest of
Italy. anciently comprehended under the name of Italy. Cornelius U. C. 482
—490.
B. C. 272
—264. triumphed over the Sarsinates, the fiercest mountaineers in Umbria¹⁵⁷: Sempronius subdued the more populous nation

¹⁵⁴ Polybius, l. i. c. 7. Appian. ix. c. 3.
Zonaras.

¹⁵⁶ Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Diodor. Excerpt. l. xxii. p. 562. et Appian de Rebus Samnit. l. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Polyb. l. ii. c. 16. et Fasti Capitolin.

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of the Picentes, extending from the mountains of Umbria to the coast of the Hadriatic. Their capital Asculum, with other strong-holds, were reduced to unconditional surrender¹⁵⁸: and three hundred and sixty thousand men swore allegiance to the victors¹⁵⁹. The Salentines, occupying the heel of Italy, next suffered the punishment due to allies of Pyrrhus¹⁶⁰. They afforded an easy triumph to Regulus and Libo¹⁶¹; and yielded their convenient seaport, Brundisium, which sent out and received fleets with the same wind, and was deemed incomparably the best harbour on the southern coasts of Italy¹⁶².

New coinage, new quaestors and new colonies.

The opulence of Rome received great accession from the war of Magna Græcia. Instead of herds of cattle driven from the Sabines and Volsci, the empty cars of the Gauls, and the broken arms of the Samnites, Papirius Cursor exhibited in his triumph over Tarentum, innumerable carriages loaded with precious furniture; pictures, statues, vases, with a profusion of implements and ornaments of gold and silver¹⁶³. The public prosperity was attested by the introduction of denarii and quinarii of silver¹⁶⁴, which received the name of money, because first coined in the temple of admonishing Juno, Juno Moneta¹⁶⁵. As the important conquest of the Picentes which we have just mentioned, nearly coincided in point of time with this new coinage, the most ancient denarii are stamped with the image of Picus, the reputed founder of the nation of the Picentes, supplicating the protection of a Roman magistrate¹⁶⁶. But spoils, in the form of precious metals, were accompanied by still more important acqui-

¹⁵⁸ Eutropius, l. ii. et Liv. Epit. l. xv.

¹⁵⁹ Plin. N. Hist. l. iii. c. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Tit. Liv. ibid. Florus, l. i. c. 20.

¹⁶¹ Fast. Capitolin.

¹⁶² Polybius, l. x. c. 1. Ennius. Zonaras.

¹⁶³ Florus, l. i. c. 28.

¹⁶⁴ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Suidas in *Μονητα*.

¹⁶⁶ The latter denarii are stamped with the figure of Rome, and with a biga or quadriga on the reverse. The quinarii, five ases, were called victoriati, from the figure of victory. The sestertii, 2½ ases: are usually distinguished by the figures of Castor and Pollux.

tions. The conquered nations were stripped of one part of their lands to be divided among Roman citizens, and of another part to be cultivated as public domain at a stipulated rent. The Tarentines were subjected to a severe annual tribute: and the augmentation by these means accruing to the public revenues made it necessary to double the number of quæstors ¹⁶⁷. Two of these financial administrators had the care of the temple of Saturn, which served at Rome for a treasury: two attended the consuls in their military expeditions: the four remaining were distributed among four distinct departments in Italy: at Ostia in Latium, Cales in Campania, Sena, in the country formerly belonging to the Galli Senones, and Tarentum in Magna Græcia ¹⁶⁸. The Romans with their usual prudence consolidated their conquests by colonies. Within the interval just mentioned, they planted Cosa and Poestum ¹⁶⁹, the former in Tuscany, the latter on the coast of Lucania: and five years afterwards they colonized Ariminum in the territory of the Gauls, and Beneventum in that of the Samnites ¹⁷⁰. Their new possessions were thus firmly united with the old, under the various titles of colonies, municipia, allies, and subjects: and to enlarge the basis of a dominion projecting on every side, the ancient Sabines were now advanced to the complete dignity of Roman citizens; an equal right of suffrage, and equal participation in all offices of authority. At the next census or lustrum, in the four hundred and ninetieth year of the city, the number of Romans capable of bearing arms amounted to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four ¹⁷¹. But populousness formed the least preeminent distinction of a people invigorated by exertion, disciplined by laws and manners, and to whom the best institutions both public and domestic, had through custom, been rendered the most agreeable; above all

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Census.
U. C. 490.
B. C. 264.

¹⁶⁷ Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 22.

Conf. Liv. Epitom. l. xiv.

¹⁶⁸ Tit. Liv. Epitom. xvi. Conf.

¹⁷⁰ Velleius, *ibid*.

Pigh. Annal. ad an. 488. U. C.

¹⁷¹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xvi. Eu-

¹⁶⁹ Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11.

tropius, l. ii. c. 18.

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who in their behaviour to friends and enemies invariably adhered to a practically accurate admeasurement of rewards and punishments, and thus pursued for the attainment of empire, those natural and solid maxims which far surpass in efficacy all political refinements.

State of
Carthage at
that period
—her
recent
usurpa-
tions in
Sicily.

In this flourishing condition of the commonwealth, the Carthaginians, who had unseasonably offended her by interference in the defence of one part of Magna Græcia, soon provoked her jealousy by perpetual usurpations in the other. The power of Carthage had been bent, not broken, by the invasion of Agathocles. During a peace of forty years which followed that event, an industrious and maritime people had full leisure to repair their losses, and once more began to shine in all the brightness of naval and commercial prosperity. Masters of a vast domain in Africa, of many important settlements in Spain, of Sardinia, and other inferior islands in the Tuscan sea, they had been continually grasping one city in Sicily after another, until the turbulent republic of Syracuse, almost alone independent, was now compressed on one side by the subjects of Carthage, and on the other by the fierce Mamertines of Messene.

Hieron II.
king of
Syracuse.
U. C. 485.
B. C. 269.

The rapacity of these usurpers had received a check by the destruction of their confederates in Rhegium. But other events, at first sight highly unpromising to them, had tended to increase their courage. The mercenaries belonging to Syracuse, being, as often happened, at variance with the magistrates, appointed generals by their own authority, among whom was young Hieron¹⁷², who had been recommended to their choice by his popular manners, his conspicuous valour, and his descent from the generous and high-minded Gelon, the brightest character in the long line of ancient Syracusan kings. Through the bold exertions of the mercenaries, and his own address in gaining a party among the citizens, Hieron made himself master of the obnoxious magistrates and their capital: but used his advantage with such mildness and magnanimity, that his praises were sounded

¹⁷² Polybius, l. i. c. 8. et seq. Conf. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

more loudly by those whom he had conquered, than by the instruments or companions of his victory. Hieron, with universal consent, was named general against the Mamertines, who were carrying on, as in every autumn, their predatory incursions. He led forth part of the citizens in arms, together with the whole body of the mercenaries; but knowing the fickleness and levity of his countrymen, and that those who remained at home, were easily moved to severity against their generals serving abroad, he entered before his expedition into a bond of amity with Leptines, a man in high credit with the multitude, and cemented his union with that powerful citizen, by taking his daughter in marriage. Having thus provided a fit coadjutor in policy, his next care was to rid himself by war of those turbulent hirelings, who had been the ready instruments of his elevation, but whose capricious inconstancy might as suddenly precipitate him from power. To this end he dexterously exposed them to the Mamertines, by whom the greater part of them were cut in pieces: while the well affected portion of his army was led home in safety. Elated by their victory over the mercenaries, the Mamertines renewed their devastations, extended them more widely than ever, and by losing discretion through success, at length carried them on as incautiously as fiercely. Hieron meanwhile had been collecting recruits; these he carefully disciplined, at the same time that he animated the old soldiers with a near prospect of revenge. In a short time he took the field with an army, confident in its own strength and the abilities of its general; and having surprised the enemy at the river Longanus, which washes the beautiful Mylæan plain, he gave them a total defeat, pursued them with great slaughter, and made captive their leaders. This glorious exploit raised Hieron to the throne of Syracuse: while the Mamertines retired within their walls, and instead of any longer sending forth their ravenous banditti, to infest the neighbouring territories, trembled for the safety of their own guilty strong-hold.

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The Mamertines in fear of Hieron—apply to the Romans and Carthaginians.

Amidst the divided councils incident to misfortune, one part of them applied to the Carthaginians, and another to the Romans. Among the latter people, the senate enjoyed the prerogative of discussing in the first instance all matters of foreign policy. The conquest of southern Italy had brought, they acknowledged, the victorious arms of their country to the shores of Sicily; but, however tempting the occasion, they declined to interpose in favour of the infamous Mamertines, whose demerit surpassed that of the recently and most justly punished Rhegians, since the latter had been imitators, but the former were originals and models, in perpetrating the most execrable villany. The popular assembly was far less scrupulous. Its leaders represented the critical situation in which the safety of Rome must be placed, should Carthage, already possessed of nearly all Sicily, and whose dominion was gradually encompassing and threatening their own, gain possession of Messene, which by its commodious situation on the straits, seemed to rise like a bridge for passing conveniently into Italy. This was the argument on which they thought fit chiefly to dwell; but as they hoped to enrich themselves as generals in the expedition, so they failed not to point out to the avidity of the soldiers, that the insular part of Magna Græcia surpassed the continental in opulence¹⁷³.

The possession of Messene disputed by them. Victories of Appius Claudius. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

While the Romans deliberated, the Carthaginians were in arms. They entered Messene, and placed a garrison in its citadel. Upon learning that event, the Roman comitia, or general assembly of the nation, without waiting for the authority of the senate, sent the consul Appius Claudius to the straits. His arrival there occasioned great commotions in Messene. The Mamertines, being most of them Italians, were less fearful of Rome than of Carthage; and when they understood that a Roman consul had advanced to their neighbourhood, they flew to arms, overpowered the party in the citadel who abetted the Carthaginians; expelled all whom they judged their

¹⁷³ Polybius, l. i. c. 8.

foes, with equal cruelty and insult; and urged the consul Appius to use the utmost diligence in coming to them and seconding their boldness. Before he could pass the straits in transports with which he was furnished by the dependent Greek cities on the Italian shore, Messene was invested on one side by the resentment of the Carthaginians, and on another by the policy of Hieron, who deemed this a fit opportunity for rooting out of Sicily a commonwealth of robbers and assassins, long the opprobrium of that island. But Appius with great resolution threw himself into Messene in the night time¹⁷⁴. When apprised of the strength and animosity of the besiegers, he made offers to them of an accommodation, on condition that the Mamertines should be included in it. His proposals were rejected both by Hieron and by the Carthaginians. Appius fought with them separately, and successively defeated them.

With this double victory commenced the first Punic war, which lasted with little intermission for twenty-four years, and in which, though Sicily was its main scene as well as its principal object, the actions of the native islanders make but a small figure in history. Their cities, many of them rich and populous, were deformed or ruined by the invading rivals, as their arms alternately prevailed. In the sack of Agrigentum, the Romans, in one day, sold twenty-five thousand citizens, for slaves. Shortly afterwards that magnificent city, second only to Syracuse, was nearly depopulated and demolished by the Carthaginians¹⁷⁵. The inland country for the most part submitted to the legions, while the fleets of Carthage domineered over the seacoast. But in this general outline of the war, Syracuse, a maritime city, stands as an important exception. Its king Hieron, whose good policy continued conspicuous through a reign of fifty years, had the sagacity, in his first intercourse with the Romans, to discern

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The first
Punic war.
U. C. 490.
B. C. 264.

Hieron
unites him-
self with
the Ro-
mans.

¹⁷⁴ Polybius, l. i. c. 8. Conf. Frontin. Stratagem. l. iv.

¹⁷⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xvi. c. 58. l. xviii. c. 38.

CHAP. XII. the incomparable superiority of their character; and having made atonement to them for his ill advised opposition to a consular army, he craved and obtained their friendship, and continued thenceforth to be numbered with the most zealous, and most strenuous of their allies.

How far
that people
were then
acquainted
with naval
affairs.

Their an-
cient
treaties
with Car-
thage. U.
C. 245—
448. B. C.
509—306.

Nature and
limitations
of the trade
between
the two
nations.

But even with this maritime assistance, the Romans, who now first carried armies beyond seas, laboured under great inconveniences in contending with a people, who had long commanded all the western shores of the Mediterranean. They were not indeed, as is generally reported by historians, too prone to the marvellous, altogether unacquainted with sea affairs. As early as the reign of Ancus Martius, their fourth king, they had built the convenient harbour of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber: and in the first year of the republic, they counted among their maritime allies or subjects, the cities of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Anxur or Terracina. In that memorable year, the first consuls, Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, obtained a treaty of commerce with Carthage, already approaching, as we have explained above, through the destruction of the first and far greater Tyre, to the zenith of its extensive maritime dominion. In this instrument, which has fortunately come down to us¹⁷⁶, the Carthaginians granted to the Romans a free trade to Sicily; they granted to them also the privilege of buying and selling in Sardinia and Africa, without paying other imposts than certain stipulated fees, to the criers and public clerks of the markets; but they forbade the Roman merchantmen to pass beyond the fair promontory, now Cape Bon, towering on the north of Carthage, and shutting up, as with a strong bulwark, the valuable unwalled towns in Byzatium or Emporia. The Carthaginians, on their part, agreed not to erect any fortress in Latium; and, if carried to that coast in pursuit of an enemy, promised to use their best endeavours not to pass a single night in the country. The spirit of these articles

¹⁷⁶ Polybius, l. iii. c. 22—25.

accords well with the circumstances of the contracting parties. The Carthaginians from a commercial jealousy, as well as from fears of a political nature¹⁷⁷, were unwilling that the Romans should trade directly with Byzantium; they totally debarred them, therefore, from that part of the African coast, and in case they were driven thither by stress of weather, commanded them to carry nothing from thence, except what was essentially requisite for refitting their vessels, or performing indispensable sacrifices. With regard to Carthage itself, and all the western parts of Africa, as well as the island of Sardinia, the Roman traders were placed, in some measure, under the control of criers and clerks, appointed by the magistrates of Carthage; their transactions were to be public, and the public faith was thereby pledged for the exact fulfilment of all bargains. As to Sicily, on the other hand, the Romans were indulged in the most perfect freedom. The Carthaginians, as yet, possessed scarcely a third part of Sicily. The Greeks, chiefly, were masters of all the rest; and the Romans, if fettered by commercial restrictions in one part of the island, would naturally have directed their attention to another. What were the commodities which Carthage at this time exported, we had formerly an occasion to explain. The exports of the Romans, it is not difficult to conjecture. Africa, indeed, abounded in corn, but different kinds of grain should seem to have been early cultivated in Italy, which were little known on the southern coast of the Mediterranean¹⁷⁸. Linen and leather, wool, oil and wine, formed probably very important articles: above all, slaves taken in war, which a republic in Africa was in that age as eager in purchasing from the coasts of Europe, as the Europeans have in later times been busy in prosecuting the same odious commerce on the coasts of Africa. Besides all this, the Romans from the age of Numa, cultivated, as we have

Principal
articles of
their traffic.

¹⁷⁷ To prevent revolt among their dependencies, see above, vol. ii. p. 26.

¹⁷⁸ Varro de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 8.

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seen, many ingenious arts, and carried on many useful manufactures whose productions might be in request among the Carthaginians or the nations with which they traded.

Wonderful
exertions
of the
Romans in
construct-
ing and
equipping
war-galleys.
U. C. 493.
B. C. 261.

This memorable treaty contracted with the Carthaginians in the 245th year of the city, had been renewed and modified three several times, that is, in the years 406, 448, and 473 of the same era: so that the Romans were not altogether inattentive to commercial concerns, though matters of war and government form the exclusive theme of their historians. Neither were they strangers to sea affairs nor unexperienced in the construction of round, flat, heavy sailing merchantmen; but they had not as yet built galleys, and were altogether unpractised in naval warfare. When they carried their arms beyond Italy, it became necessary to apply to those objects, and they did so with an alacrity and perseverance which surpasses every thing most admirable in their history¹⁷⁹. Fortune, at the commencement, seconded their views. About the time that Appius passed the Straits into Sicily, a Carthaginian quinquereme sailing too near to the land, was stranded on the coast of Rhegium: and being boarded by some Roman soldiers, was carried as a prize into that harbour. Quinqueremes or vessels with five tier of oars had been discovered, as we have before seen, amidst the naval engagements of Alexander's successors, to be the most serviceable rate of war ships; and their use very generally substituted to that of trireme galleys, with which, alone, the Athenians had raised their immortal trophies over the Persians. The captured Carthaginian quinquereme served the Romans by way of model; and within the space of sixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they built a hundred such vessels: commonly manned by 300 sailors and 200 marines. While the ship-carpenters performed their assigned tasks, the future rowers were furnished with heavy oars, and, being seated on benches, were daily exercised¹⁸⁰ in the use of them. In this

¹⁷⁹ Polybius, l. i. c. 20—62.

¹⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.* c. 21.

manner they were accustomed to handle these implements with vigour and dexterity, and to obey with quickness and precision the signals of their officers. CHAP. XII.

With a fleet thus formed on land, Cornelius put to sea, and was defeated ¹⁸¹. But his successor, Duillius, obtained a signal victory, chiefly through his address in converting the naval engagement into a pitched battle. This was effected by grappling machines, called corvi, from the resemblance which they bore to beaks of crows. For working these corvi, Duillius erected strong pillars on the prows of his galleys. These pillars were furnished with pulleys at top, and surrounded with stages of stout timber, bordered with a parapet knee high. In action, the corvi, being thus raised aloof by pulleys, might be turned to any direction, so that on whatever side an enemy's vessel approached, it would be infallibly made fast by them. When the ships thus lay along side of each other, the Romans enjoyed the advantage of boarding in full line; but when they could only bring their own prows to touch the middle, or either extremity, of the enemy's vessels, they then advanced cautiously in two files, the file-leaders extending their shields in front, and their respective followers resting the same arm of defence on the bordering parapets above mentioned, which completely defended them in flank ¹⁸². In this manner they rushed on the enemy with their pointed, twoedged, massy and well tempered swords, incomparably the fittest of all instruments for such desperate service.

When the decision of seafights was brought to this issue, and became a battle of men rather than of ships, the Romans uniformly prevailed: they were long as constantly unsuccessful, when the engagement chiefly depended on swiftness of sailing and dexterity of manœuvre. Notwithstanding this inferiority, they carried the war into Africa, where the first successes of Regulus rivalled those of Agathocles. But a

¹⁸¹ The Punic wars constitute that portion of Roman history, on which the writers of Rome have most delighted to expatiate. From the nature of my work, it seemed fit to enter into subjects so universally known, no farther than as they serve to explain the general revolutions of the world.

¹⁸² Polybius, l. i. c. 22.

Duillius' naval victory—
The corvi.
U. C. 494.
B. C. 260.

Maritime war.
U. C. 498
—512.
B. C. 256
—242.

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body of Greek mercenaries arriving at Carthage under the Lacedæmonian Xantippus, the Romans, about 15,000 foot and 500 horse, were totally defeated, and their general made prisoner¹⁸³. His story is well known. Being sent home on his parole to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, he dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to that proposal and returned to the cruel death that awaited him at Carthage¹⁸⁴. In the course of the war, above 700 Roman quinqueremes were destroyed. Their losses were great in action, and still greater in storms on the coasts both of Sicily and Africa¹⁸⁵. But their spirit in resisting these misfortunes, their indefatigable perseverance and unextinguishable patriotism afford one of the noblest spectacles in history. On one occasion the engaging squadrons amounted collectively to 500, and on another to 700 quinqueremes; the former containing 210,000, and the latter 294,000 combatants¹⁸⁶. At length the consul Lutatius Catulus gained a decisive victory at the Ægades isles, off the western coast of Sicily, sunk 125 Carthaginian quinqueremes, and captured 73 with upwards of 30,000 men on board¹⁸⁷: for the Romans had now attained an equality in seamanship, and by wonderful and most unwearied diligence had brought their vessels to cope with and surpass those of the enemy in all the celerity and variety of their most alert nautical movements.

The consul
Catulus' decisive
victory off
the Ægades.
U. C. 512.
B. C. 242.

Incidents
during the
siege of
Lilybæum.
U. C. 502
—512.
B. C. 252
—242.

During the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted ten years, and terminated only with the war itself, the Carthaginians felt the utmost anxiety to know the fate of a city, which, on account of its situation, its fidelity, and its power, they regarded as an essential outpost to their empire. But none of their boldest captains would venture through intricate shallows, which lay between two Roman squadrons that blocked up its harbour. At length, Hannibal, a noble Cartha-

¹⁸³ Polybius, l. i. c. 34. & seq.

¹⁸⁶ Polybius, l. i. c. 25. & seq. & 49. & seq.

¹⁸⁴ Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, l. iii. Od. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. c. 61.

¹⁸⁵ Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 37. 39. 54.

giniān, but named the Rhodian for his intimate connexion with that naval island, in a vessel built on a new model, and at his private expense, darted into the desired port in sight of the whole Roman fleet¹⁸⁸. Provoked at this audacity, the Romans, to intercept his return, prepared ten of their swiftest vessels, and stationed them as near to the harbour's mouth as the shallow would permit, with orders to keep their oars suspended in the air, ready to be plied on the first signal. The Rhodian at length made his appearance, and before the enemy could bear down on him, escaped from the harbour in safety: then insulting and mortifying the Romans still further by lying on his oars by way of bravado in the midst of obstacles and dangers which they themselves feared to approach. The success of Hannibal the Rhodian, encouraged other Carthaginian captains. They built vessels of a similar construction, and by their means kept up a useful intercourse with the besieged city. But one of these vessels having unfortunately struck on the fragment of an ancient mole, fell into the hands of the Romans, and served them for a model in building ships of their own, fitted to cope with and finally to capture all those of the enemy employed in this dangerous service¹⁸⁹. Thus did they wrest from the Carthaginians the command of the sea, by instruments which, though they wanted ingenuity to invent them, they had however the industry to improve, and the boldness and perseverance victoriously to employ.

In the last stages of the war, there was not any Roman general that surpassed in abilities and enterprise Hamilcar Barcas. This man was the father of the great Hannibal, and of four other sons, whom he afterwards boasted of rearing, "as so many lion's whelps against the Romans." When the decisive seafight near the Ægades isles compelled the Carthaginians to treat of peace, he refused to surrender the city Eryx, in which he commanded, on any but the most honourable conditions. Articles, however, were soon agreed to, by which the Carthaginians not only relinquished all their pos-

Hamilcar Barcas.—His indignation amidst the humiliating terms of peace imposed on his country.
U. C. 512.
B. C. 242.

¹⁸⁸ Polybius, l. i. c. 46.¹⁸⁹ Ibid. c. 47. & seq.

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sessions in Sicily, and its small satellite isles, but consented to pay down 1000, and to raise a contribution of 2200 talents in the course of ten years. Such was the issue of the first Punic war, which gave to the Romans ships and seamen, and enabled them, as we shall see, only a dozen years afterwards, to carry great armaments across the Hadriatic. This advantage, which opened to them a vast career of conquest in the Macedonian empire, was not on their side cheaply purchased. In the twelfth year of the war, they mustered 297,797 citizens: at their following census the number was found to be reduced to 251,222 ¹⁹⁰.

Division of
Sicily be-
tween the
Romans
and king
Hieron.

The first Punic war involved the fate of what was regarded as the most important division of Magna Græcia ¹⁹¹. Many Greek cities in Sicily, which had flourished in arts and arms, were reduced with the far greater part of the island, into the form of a province; and thus subjected to tribute and port-duties, and the stern jurisdiction of a prætor, sent annually from Rome with an army ¹⁹². From this humiliating dependence, the dominions alone of king Hieron were exempted. His zealous cooperation with the Romans procured for him, not the bare title, but all the substantial advantages of an equal and honourable ally ¹⁹³. These advantages he improved with incomparable abilities in his subsequent reign of twenty seven years, during which Syracuse, possessed of a territory extending scarcely fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, enjoyed a degree of credit abroad, as well as prosperity at home, altogether unexampled in any other so small a kingdom.

¹⁹⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xix.

¹⁹¹ Strabo, l. vi. p. 253. & 273.

¹⁹² Cicero in Verrem, l. ii. De
Jurisdict. Sicil. Orat. vii. Plutarch

in Marcell. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xix. c.
64:

¹⁹³ Id. l. xix. c. 33.

CHAPTER XIII.

Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers. Respected Neutrality of Aradus. Seleucus made captive in Parthia. Reigns of Demetrius II. of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. Progress of the Achæan League. Agis and Cleomenes. The Cleomenic War. Battle of Sellasia. Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. His Transactions with the Jews. Accession of Ptolemy Philopater. His Profligacy and Cruelty. The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. Liberality of the commercial Connexions of that State.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love for peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the contemporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprise, destitute of moderation and sound policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their ancient spirit, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh

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Third generation of Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. cxxxix. 4.

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B. C. 246
—221.

struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the opposite principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotism; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Doson. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expense of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknowledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this most interesting subject it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably, but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodice, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenice, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart¹ of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful forces transmitted to him from Philadelphus would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose bloody usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal por-

¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

tion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenice and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphne, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution². But the fury of Laodice having precipitated the destruction of Berenice her own rival, and that of the son of Berenice, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks expecting to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax³. In this distracted state of Seleucus' affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, which, from its vicinity to Antioch, was regarded as the harbour of that capital. We are not informed by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodice fell into the victor's hands, and suffered just punishment⁴.

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Euergetes
expedition
against Sy-
ria. Olymp.
cxxxiii.
3—4. B. C.
246—245.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its center, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he overran a vast extent of territory, pur-

² Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

³ The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi. p. 754. and Plutarch in Aristid. contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which,

he says no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

⁴ Appian Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

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Euergetes' expedition into Upper Asia.

Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 245—244.

Why honoured with the title of Euergetes.

suing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus⁵. His plunder was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver⁶; but what appeared far more valuable, to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn from their venerated shrines by the tyranny of Cambyzes. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals of Susiana, communicating, as we have seen, with the Euphrates, that they might be conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, but would have still better deserved that appellation had he preferred the internal improvement of his kingdom to distant and precarious conquests. He is said to have appointed⁸ governors over subdued provinces: these provinces, however, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem,

⁵ Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian Expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Berenice, the daughter of Magus and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus,

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hy-
menæis,

Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11. & 12.

The queen's votive offering for the safe return of her husband, having

disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the lion hitherto little noticed, which he said were Berenice's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in *Historiarum Synagoga*. Hygini Poetic. Astronomic.

⁶ Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

⁷ The Adulitic inscription ends abruptly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

⁸ Hieronym. in Daniel. cap. xi.

he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple⁹.

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During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the loyalty of the Syrians and Phœnicians to his family, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to reestablish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded on the contrary to his advantage. The Greeks, it is said, considering¹⁰ the direful storm as a judgment of the gods, who had thus taken on themselves the punishment of his past crimes, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connexion with the Gauls, was preparing to extend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians¹¹.

The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour.
Olymp. cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks, enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strong-holds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negotiated a peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column,

His negotiations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia.
Olymp. cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 244.

⁹ Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5. cantibus, &c.

¹⁰ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente
veluti Diis ipsis parricidium vindli-

¹¹ Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch de
Fratern. Amor.

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these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract¹².

Suspension
of hostili-
ties be-
tween Pto-
lemy and
Seleucus,
and war of
the latter
against An-
tiochus
Hierax.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 2.
cxxxv. 1.
B. C. 243—
240.

Battle of
Ancyra,
and danger
of Antio-
chus from
his Gallic
auxiliaries.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 242.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus¹³. The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfidious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the virulence of fraternal discord. Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded¹⁴; and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries¹⁵. But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate to themselves the whole advantages of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a

¹² Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. & seq. p. 750.

¹³ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

¹⁵ Polyænus, l. viii. c. 61. &

¹⁴ Id. l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch de Fratern. Amore.

large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by Eumenes of Pergamus¹⁶; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia¹⁷. The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were completely defeated by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews¹⁸. On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the boastful title of Callinicus¹⁹, while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtesan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers²⁰.

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils²¹. The fame of Tyre and Sidon had hither-

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XIII.

Their insolence and chastisement.

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in the war between the brothers.

¹⁶ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445.

¹⁷ Pausanias, l. x. c. 45.

¹⁸ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

¹⁹ "Illustrious conqueror." He

was surnamed also Pogon from his long beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

²⁰ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

²¹ Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 41.

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to eclipsed that of Aradus, their unequal confederate, which stood on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness²² with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome²³. Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith, which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well contrived conduit, into boats prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the rocky island aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with the Islanders, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies²⁴. As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island

²² Strabo, l. xvii. p. 753.

²³ Id. p. 757.

²⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744.

was signalized by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community²⁵. CHAP. XIII.

Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. Other enemies still remained; the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and threatened to invade Media²⁶, the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from his other antagonists, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced, and the war by different inroads²⁷ protracted during four years, until the royal invader fell into the hands of the enemy, after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians²⁸.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces²⁹, the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror, with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes³⁰. Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator), to the son of their captive monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the

Seleucus' war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239—235.

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235—226.

²⁵ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744.

²⁶ Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. & Appian Syriac. c. 65.

²⁷ Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

²⁸ To this battle properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis, obser-

vant," l. xli. c. 4.

²⁹ Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

³⁰ Athenæus, *ibid*.

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person of his father. But this improbable tale ³¹ seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title; for the captive, Seleucus, it should seem, perished in Parthia by a fall from his horse ³² in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with Hierax, who had remained still longer a prisoner, and under much severer restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors, Seleucus Keranus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

The former of these princes left two sons, Seleucus Keranus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable ³³; and Antiochus the Great, who would not seem altogether unworthy of the title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

The Achaean league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.— cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of

³¹ Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; but the report of Seleucus' escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus who even in Parthia was treated as a king, ἀγορευόμενος βασιλικῶς, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects, and that the government would be car-

ried on in his name by the ministers of his son.

³² Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

³³ Polybius, Appian & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicenor two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.

military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon in the reign of Pto-
 lemy Keraunus, Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards, the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining³⁴ cities of Achaia, successively followed the example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four cornerstones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment, as well as of interest, with the same hatred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures³⁵. Twice every year, at the beginning of summer, and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and according to the same liberal mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, intrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. For twenty-five years, this arrangement continued; but, at the expiration of that time,

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³⁴ These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellene. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helice had been destroyed by an earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown reason

did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. 1. c. 145.

³⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 58.

CHAP. XIII. Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command; and the nomination of one general only became in future the unvarying rule ³⁶.

Civil liberty and national independence.

From this short description it appears, that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of municipal independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council: no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league; but when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

Aratus joins Sicyon to the league. Olymp. cxxxii. 3. B. C. 250.

And Corinth. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. B. C. 249.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country, from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprise of Aratus, a youth in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy³⁷. Eight years afterwards, and when he was invested for the second time with the military command, he gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that strong-hold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander³⁸. The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, cheerfully joined the Achæan league; and thereby best remunerated the merit of

³⁶ Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

³⁷ It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours those who had recent-

ly joined the league.

³⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.

Aratus, who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, as well as of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias' adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Soso, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven had directed him to a place the most secure of any because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family still insured to him the protection of many hereditary friends.

By these respectable friends he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth, he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was a glory to excel³⁹: and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter. But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and reestablishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode of well harmonized polity⁴⁰. Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of

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XIII.

Peculiarities in his history.

His education.

How he rescued Sicyon from tyranny.

³⁹ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. v. p. 231.

⁴⁰ The metaphor of Plutarch: it

presented itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat.

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his expatriated fellow citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicoles escaped, indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the marketplace, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy⁴¹.

He restores
the emi-
grants to
their inhe-
ritances
without of-
fending the
actual pos-
sessors.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which riveted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants: some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently and highly gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired masterpieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose magnificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums⁴² of money, as enabled him, at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

Reign of
Demetrius
II. of Ma.

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who

⁴¹ Plut. in Arat.

⁴² Id. *ibid.* The numbers are erroneous.

died shortly after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel⁴³, but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired in a subordinate station. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who, by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill acquired, cruelly exercised, and precariously held. Aristippus had a numerous bodyguard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trapdoor into a small upper chamber. Upon this trapdoor his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning⁴⁴. This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hole. Such is the life of tyrants among men capable of relishing the sweets of liberty; and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition.

CHAP.
XIII.cedon.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 2.—
cxxxvii. 1.
B. C. 248—
232.Picture of
petty ty-
rants whom
he support-
ed in
Greece,
Aristippus
of Argos.

The accession of Corinth to the Achæan league conspired, however, with other causes, to enfeeble his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians⁴⁵ in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatened and often invaded his northern frontiers: he car-

Wars and
troubles of
Demetrius'
reign.⁴³ See above, c. xi. p. 597.⁴⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.⁴⁴ Plutarch in Arat.

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ried on war against Alexander of Epirus, son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus⁴⁶. The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and anxious preparation⁴⁷.

Various accessions to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxxxvi. 4, B. C. 233.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Træzenè, and Hermione, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lysiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league⁴⁸.

Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxvii. 1. —cxxxix. 4. B. C. 232—221.

His uncommon merits.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Antigonus II., surnamed Doson. This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm⁴⁹ on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, in preference to his nephew, by the will of the Macedonians, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus' character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short

⁴⁶ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

⁴⁷ Pausan. Attic.

⁴⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Coriolan.

of his virtues; at home and abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies⁵⁰. Yet this respectable prince, the only one that for many years really adorned the Macedonian throne (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful appellation, still adhering to his name, while other sovereigns of the same age, infinitely his inferiors, are dignified in history by high-sounding epithets⁵¹. Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus, in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost abilities to conciliate goodwill among his barbarous northern neighbours.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandizement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she was the proud mistress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his oppressed fellow citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were either incorporated

Athens and
Argos joined
to the
Achæan
league.

⁵⁰ Polybius, Conf. l. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. et l. iv. c. 3.—87.

⁵¹ Τα αλαζονικά αὐτῶν ὀνόματα, &c. Dio. Chrysostom. Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god."

These names, however, seldom appear on medals during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they continually degenerated in character.

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State of
Sparta
from the
death of
Alexander
to the reign
of Cleo-
menes.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 235.

Leonidas
and Agis.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 244.

with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general⁵².

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendancy of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity: impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread⁵³.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Platæa; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws, in one word to re-

⁵² Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat. ⁵³ Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

store the discipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour⁵⁴. The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities: but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis had followed her father in his banishment, rather than reign with her husband. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband⁵⁵: thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased by the distress of the other. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen temple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with strict justice in the means of execution.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and with an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that unfortunate patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home⁵⁶, and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler

⁵⁴ Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.⁵⁶ Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.⁵⁵ Plutarch. *ibid*.

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Encouraged by the Etolians to make war on Achaia. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

to mould at will the government of his country. While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Etolians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametrically opposite to their own. The Etolians had first applied to Antigonus Doson, the successor of Demetrius, but found that wise prince unwilling to abet their schemes of injustice: they next addressed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to seize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, strictly allied with themselves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first successes of the Cleomenic war. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

Cleomenes listened to a counsel highly favourable to his views; and by an assault as successful as it was unexpected, seized Mantinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortress for annoying that city⁵⁷, which had been for several years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the necessity of repelling the aggressions of a commonwealth, which they had once good hopes of incorporating with their own. Arcadia became the first and long continued the principal scene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnesus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambitious author.

Causes thereof—the military defects of Aratus, and the new arrangements of Sparta.

Its first stages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far superior to themselves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune against Achaia, much is to be ascribed to the personal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and disciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new spirit of enterprise which he inspired into his countrymen, after he had rescued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long subject⁵⁸. The military defects of Aratus are also to be taken into account; for with all his great qualities, this il-

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

⁵⁸ Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.

lustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties⁵⁹. Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus maintained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him dread of all men, Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general⁶⁰.

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedonians into Peloponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the revered ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to send a deputation to

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Aratus determines to apply for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C 224.

⁵⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato. ⁶⁰ Plutarch in Cleomen.

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the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained in a few words the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece⁶¹. The drift of their discourse was to show, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there against the united strength of the Etolians, Boeotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the moment fittest to begin his march⁶².

Conse-
quences of
that mea-
sure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and intrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different

⁶¹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

⁶² Id. ibid.

character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Megalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at a place called Hecatombæum in the district of Dyme⁶³, one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was despatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies⁶⁴. This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the footsteps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendancy of Antigonus in any of these countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, by which means this prince was enabled to prosecute his designs vigorously, and conquer many cities

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assistance of Ptolemy Euergetes Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

⁶³ Polybius, l. ii. c. 51.

⁶⁴ Id. l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.

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in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself; for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negotiate in favour of Antigonus⁶⁵. He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but through their own dastardly spirit, he was now furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

Antigonus
enters Pe-
loponnesus
—his suc-
cess.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
B. C. 223.

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up entrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes' partisans⁶⁶. The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong-holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its se-

⁶⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 52. ⁶⁶ Κλεομενισαίς, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53

curity to his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclamation, general of the confederacy. As this was the autumnal meeting of the states, Antigonos took up his winter quarters in the fertile neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth. In the spring he again entered Arcadia. Some cities were surprised; others voluntarily surrendered: Tegea submitted after a long siege⁶⁷.

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Antigonos then advanced towards Laconia, the frontiers of which were watchfully guarded by Cleomenes. There happened several skirmishes on the borders of that country, but before Antigonos could obtain his end of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he learned by his spies, that the garrison of Orchomenos in Arcadia had quitted its walls to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore hastily decamped, and, marching in full force against that place, gained it by the first assault. Mantinæa, the most beautiful city in Arcadia⁶⁸, was next besieged, and taken after a short resistance. The neighbouring republics of Heræa and Telphussa opened their gates at the first summons⁶⁹. In this victorious campaign, Antigonos' behaviour is memorable for its mildness. In none of the places which he conquered, not even in Tegea, which had resisted obstinately and furiously, did he either enslave the inhabitants, or confiscate their property; cruelties allowable according to the laws of war then universally prevalent.

Antigonos' moderation in victory

Mantinæa indeed formed an exception; but the case of Mantinæa was peculiar⁷⁰. It had entered into the Achæan league, revolted to Cleomenes, and, after being recovered by Aratus, had been treated by him with the utmost lenity, and had received, at its own desire, an Achæan garrison of five hundred men⁷¹ to protect it against the Spartans and Etoli-

The treatment of Mantinæa an exception to Antigonos' mildness—reasons thereof.

⁶⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 54.

⁶⁹ Polyb. *ibid.*

⁶⁸ And that from very early times,

⁷⁰ Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. et seq.

Marrivay's edition.

⁷¹ Three hundred Achæans and

Homer in *catal.* v, 114. two hundred mercenaries.

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ans. These events happened four years before Antigonus' invasion. In that interval, the Mantinæans a second time revolted to Cleomenes, then in the height of his prosperity, and the better to ingratiate themselves with that prince, had committed a deed of eternal infamy in murdering the Achæans whom they had invited into their city. This act was regarded by Antigonus as an execrable cruelty, since the laws of nations, barbarous as they were in that age, required that the Mantinæans, whatever motives they might themselves have for changing sides, should have sent back the Achæan garrison in safety. The conqueror therefore treated Mantinæa differently from other cities of Arcadia: he plundered the houses, and sold the inhabitants for slaves⁷².

Cleomenes
surprises
Megalopoli-
lis. Olymp.
cxxx. ix. 2.
B. C. 223.

At the end of autumn, Antigonus again proceeded to Ægium to congratulate with the Achæan council, and to deliberate with its members concerning the future conduct of the war. The success of the late campaign enabled him to dismiss without danger many Macedonians, who were desirous of passing the winter at home in the midst of their families and friends. His proceedings were carefully watched by Cleomenes, who, though he had not ventured to take the field against him in Arcadia, and had contented himself with defending the Lacedæmonian frontier, anxiously looked for an opportunity of retrieving his losses in the former province by surprising Megalopolis, the city of Arcadia nearest to Sparta, and distinguished by uncommon zeal for the Achæan confederacy. Megalopolis had suffered so cruelly in the war, that its inhabitants were inadequate to the defence of their extensive walls. The victories

⁷² Phylarchus, a contemporary historian, arraigned Antigonus' severe treatment of the Mantinæans, without explaining the just cause in which it originated. Phylarchus was an Athenian, living in the court of Ptolemy Euergetes, and therefore both from the place of his birth, and that of his residence, naturally ho-

stile to the Macedonians, and the fame of their king. His work was preferred to the more candid Memoirs of Aratus by many Greeks who entertained the same prejudices. Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. Conf. Suid. ad voc. Athen. Deipn. and Dionys. Halicarn. de Colloc. Verb

of their allies had inspired them with an unwarrantable security. Ægium was distant from them by a journey of full three days, and from that place Antigonas had just sent a large portion of his army into Macedon. Under these circumstances, Cleomenes marched to Megalopolis in the night; gained admission within the gates by means of some Messenian exiles, resident in the place, whom he had previously corrupted; seized all the most advantageous posts; and appeared at dawn in great force in the marketplace⁷³. Thus betrayed, surprised, and on the point of being totally destroyed, the Megalopolitans discovered not any disposition to surrender. They resisted so valiantly, they showed such determined resolution to brave every suffering, that Cleomenes gladly made way for them to escape from his far superior force. When most of them fled to Messene, the conqueror sent thither, offering the restoration of their city, on condition that they abandoned the Achæan league. His letters were not allowed to be read, and his messengers narrowly escaped death⁷⁴. So steadily did this generous people adhere to their engagements, that rather than violate their plighted faith, they determined for ever to desert their houses, lands, temples, and country. Philopœmen, one of their wealthiest citizens, makes his first appearance in history as the chief promoter of this noble resolution. Cleomenes, at first opposed by universal consent, for not an individual in Megalopolis was base enough to join his party, and afterwards finding his favours disdained notwithstanding the completest victory, indulged his soldiers in the utmost licence of plunder. The more valuable effects of the magnanimous fugitives, among which their pictures and statues are thought worthy of particular mention, were collected into rude heaps and transported to Sparta. Whatever was too cumbrous to be removed, was destroyed on the spot. Cleomenes dismantled the fortifications, and commanded even the principal houses to be

Generous
despair of
its inhabi-
tants.—
Philopœ-
men.

⁷³ Plutarch in Cleomen. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 55. et c. 6. et l. v. c. 93.

⁷⁴ By lapidation the usual mode of summary punishment. Polyb. ibid c. 61.

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demolished, that a city, so hostile to his views, might never thenceforward be inhabited⁷⁵.

Move-
ments pre-
paratory to
the battle
of Sellasia
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

The disasters, which speedily befel himself, defeated this ungenerous expectation. Antigonus had taken up his quarters at Argos for the remainder of winter. He proposed to begin the campaign in the spring, as soon as he should be joined by reinforcements from Macedon⁷⁶. Cleomenes, who was apprised of this intention, entered the Argive territory earlier than the Greek armies were accustomed to take the field. But neither the devastation of the country, nor the complaints of the Argives, nor the insulting airs of the enemy, could provoke Antigonus to venture a battle until he was powerfully reinforced, not only by Macedonians, but Illyrians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; for his justice and good policy had given him allies in all the nations around him. When these succours arrived at Argos, the whole muster amounted to twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes by this time had moved towards Sparta, having failed, indeed, in his main purpose of bringing Antigonus to action, but after obtaining, however, the double advantage of encouraging his troops by braving the enemy, and of enriching them by unresisted depredation. To revenge both the injury and affront, Antigonus entered Laconia, and proceeded towards the capital by the most convenient route. This led through Sellasia; a city twelve miles south of the Argive frontier, and about the same distance north of Sparta.

The scene
of action
described.

Before coming to Sellasia, he had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills, the river Oenus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Oenus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedæmonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills,

⁷⁵ Polybius, Id. *ibid*.

⁷⁶ Id. I. ii. c. 65.

and also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes with the Spartans had chosen Olympus for his post: his brother Eucleidas with the armed peasants occupied Eva: the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He frequently alarmed them by shows of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length both kings impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of mount Eva, accompanied by three thousand Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass⁷⁷. The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus' cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Oenus. It was not to advance against the enemy's horse, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was *their* summons to action, boldly marched up mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them. Upon this movement, the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's horse. The confusion occasioned

Battle of
Sellasia,
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

⁷⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 65. l. iv. c. 69. & l. 5. c. 91.

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Presence
of mind
and brave-
ry of Phi-
lopæmen.

by an onset, equally sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedæmonians, who, from the heights of Eva, might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them.

The danger was perceived by Philopæmen. He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But, as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth. The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harassed the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas⁷⁸. Philopæmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided. Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "why he had charged before orders." Alexander said, "the fault was not his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "you acted the part of a young man; that youth of Megalopolis showed himself a great general."

The Lacedæmonians defeated—flight of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of bringing the

⁷⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 67.

contest to this issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line by the cooperation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with protended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements. Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.

His army was ruined; the city was defenceless: a victorious enemy was at hand. He had but a short time for a deliberation, involving in it the interests of his glory, of his family, and of his country. He had lost, indeed, his queen Agiatis, a woman alike qualified to soothe his present sufferings, as before to inflame his ambition. His mother Cratesiclea had carried his children hostages to Egypt; a condition required by his ally Ptolemy Euergetes. Therycion, the friend of Cleomenes, encouraged the unfortunate prince to accompany himself in a voluntary death. But Cleomenes answered, that this would be desertion more disgraceful than even his flight from battle. He had only leisure to exhort the inhabitants of Sparta, peaceably to admit Antigonus whom it would be now vain to resist; assuring them that he still lived in hopes of serving his country. He then hastened with a few friends to the Lacedæmonian harbour of Gythium, thirty miles distant from Sparta; and having embarked there in one of those vessels by which he kept up his communication with Egypt, he sailed to that country to solicit from Ptolemy such succours in ships and money as might enable him at some favourable crisis to benefit their common cause⁷⁹.

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He escapes
to Egypt.

⁷⁹ Plutarch in Cleomen.

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Antigonus' indulgence to Sparta, and his other conquests.

Reception at the Nemean games. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Antigonus recalled to Macedon by an Illyrian invasion.—His death. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

Contemporary reigns of Alexander's successors in Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Olymp. cxxxix. 2—4. B. C. 223—221

Antigonus, meanwhile advanced to Sparta, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost generosity⁸⁰. They were allowed to enjoy complete national independence with leave to adjust, according to their own pleasure, the arrangement of their internal government. Having remained three days in the place, he marched to Tegea in Arcadia, which met with equal indulgence, and from thence proceeded to Argos to behold the Nemean games, about to be celebrated in that neighbourhood. In this august solemnity, at which all the nations of Greece were invited to assist, Antigonus himself was the noblest spectacle⁸¹. He was hailed as the pacificator of the countries on both sides of the Isthmus, having restrained by the mere terror of his arms the rapacious Etolians, and chastised justly, yet mercifully, the ambitious Spartans. The Achæan confederacy in general, as well as each state in particular, were unwearied in his praise, and zealous to distinguish him by those immortal honours, which public admiration confers on illustrious merit.

From this flattering scene, such is the vanity of human greatness, Antigonus was speedily withdrawn by news of an Illyrian invasion into Macedon. He flew to the defence of his desolated fields and flaming villages; encountered, and completely defeated, the Barbarians; but not until he had burst a bloodvessel, while exerting his voice too vehemently in the heat of action. He died, leaving the crown to his nephew Philip then in his seventeenth year, and who, seven years after his accession, was involved in a war with the Romans; the first waged by that people against any of Alexander's successors.

The death of Antigonus happened in the same year with that of Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt, and in the same olympiad with that of Seleucus Keraunus king of Syria; so that these Greek kings of the East, forming the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror, all quitted the scene about the same time. A similar observation applied to the

⁸⁰ Polybius, l. v. c. 9. Conf. l. ix. c. 36.

⁸¹ Id. l. ii. c. 70.

two generations preceding them. Seleucus Keraunus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, a prince still younger than Philip, since, only in his sixteenth year, and greatly unfortunate in the latter part of life in his ill advised Roman warfare. The new king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopater, needed not, as we shall see, the cooperation of foreign enemies to involve his kingdom in disaster, and to cover himself with ignominy.

Euergetes had received the fugitive king of Sparta with the kindness due to an old and zealous ally, whose interests he had of late years too much neglected; for, as the commencement of his reign had been signalized by splendid but unprofitable expeditions in the East, so the latter part of it⁸² was chiefly occupied in vast but untenable conquests in the South. He overran Ethiopia or Abyssinia, made himself master of both sides of the Red Sea from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and proceeding even beyond this formidable⁸³ boundary, fixed the extremity of his empire at Sasus on the coast of Barbaria, abounding in the gold called Tancharas. As these expeditions were carried on by himself and his generals in the course of several years, he had an opportunity of surveying hitherto unexamined parts of Ethiopia; he scaled the lofty ridges of Samen eighty miles in extent, deformed by hail, by frost and even by deep snow⁸⁴, though only in the fourteenth degree of north latitude. In advancing still nearer the line, he found that the tribe Sesea had taken refuge on a mountain almost perpendicular, and forming the rudest part of the highlands between Abyssinia and Adel⁸⁵. He besieged it with his army: the inhabitants were stripped of their effects; the flower of their

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The Ethio-
pian expe-
ditions of
Ptolemy
Euergetes.

⁸² He says, that "sitting on his throne at Adulis, (of which we shall speak presently), he consecrated it to Mars in the 27th, that is, the last year of his reign."

⁸³ Babelmandeb, the Gate of Sorrow. Arab.

⁸⁴ Snow so deep, that the troops sunk up to their knees. Inscript.

Adulitan. Bruce denies the existence of snow in Abyssinia; and father Lobo says, that it falls only in small quantities, and never lies on the ground, p. 578. Neither of these travellers had explored the sinuosities of mount Samen.

⁸⁵ Adel, the northern division of Barbaria. See above, vol. i. p. 80.

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youth of both sexes was carried into slavery. The people of Gaza, probably Geez in Abyssinia, submitted to pay half their property by way of contribution. From such examples we may judge of the treatment of other vanquished nations, and of the heavy burdens imposed on them: for Euergetes' principal design in the invasion of Arabia and Ethiopia seems to have been to ravish by force of arms, the gold and perfumes which his wiser predecessors had attracted to them more abundantly by commerce. Though thus preeminent in rapacity, he boasts, however, of destroying robbery and piracy, and of reducing to peace the nations whom he had long harassed by a relentless war. In his own exaggerated stile, "after subjecting the whole world to his authority, he came to Adulis, the principal seaport of Abyssinia, and reunited there the whole of his victorious forces, imploring the protection of heaven to future navigators of those seas." The throne on which he sat was gratefully consecrated to Mars the god of war, whom he claims for his father and matchless auxiliary. It consisted of a white marble chair, formed from one block, with a tablet of basanite at its back, three cubits high. Both the tablet and the chair itself were covered with inscriptions which afford the only historical account of Euergetes' Ethiopian warfare, and which, above seven hundred years after the reign of that prince, were first published in the topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a travelling Greek monk, by whom they were copied on the spot⁸⁶. Conformably with this testimony, the name of Ptolemy Euergetes⁸⁷ is still found in Geeek characters among the marble ruins of Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Several other monuments belonging to the same place seem also warrantably referred to this adventurous prince⁸⁸. His remote expeditions prevented, as we have seen, Ptolemy's interference at very critical junctures in the affairs of Greece. They serve also to account for strange

⁸⁶ Vid. Cosmas Indicopleust. Topograph. Christian. p. 140. et seq. Edit. Montfaucon.

⁸⁷ Mr. Bruce says, that the stone containing this name serves as a

footstool to the throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day.

⁸⁸ Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. p. 129

negligence in the management of his provinces contiguous to Egypt itself. The example of Aradus, above mentioned, indicates the looseness of his authority over Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; and in Palæstine, the irregularity of government appears in a transaction, which at the same time gives a striking picture of Euergetes' personal character.

Since the dissolution of their monarchy, the Jews, as we have seen, had been ruled by native priests, though tributaries both in men and money to those great powers which swayed successively the politics of Lower Asia. In the beginning of Euergetes' reign, they had passed from the external jurisdiction of Syria to that of Egypt. At the time of this revolution, their high priest was Manasses, who still continued to hold his office twenty-two years, when he was succeeded by Onias, a man in advanced age, of a narrow understanding, and niggardly disposition. In addition to contributions from the community, it should seem, that the Jewish high priests were required to pay a small sum from their private fortunes in acknowledgment of dependence on foreign masters⁸⁹. This sum, amounting only to twenty talents, Onias refused any longer to disburse, and thereby provoked Ptolemy's resentment against himself and his country.

To divert the royal displeasure was the task of Joseph, Onias' nephew, a youth whose character was totally the reverse of his uncle's. His pleasing manners, together with his liberality and spirit, ingratiated him with Athenion, one of Ptolemy's friends, whom the king had sent into Judæa to adjust the business of tribute⁹⁰, and whom Joseph prevailed on to return to Alexandria upon assurances that he himself would soon follow thither, and satisfy every demand. Ac-

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His transactions with the Jews. Olymp. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 226.

Joseph farms the king's revenue in Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine.

⁸⁹ Τον ὅτι τὸ λαὸν φοροῦν, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτίλαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. and below, δια (scilicet. χρημάτων) καὶ τὸ λαὸν προσημαίναν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰσὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρχιερατικῇ τιμῇ ἐπιτυχέειν.

⁹⁰ Josephus calls Athenion Pto- VOL. II.

lemy's ambassador. This and other expressions indicating that Palæstine formed a separate state, are explained by the nature of its government as stated in the text, and by Josephus' patriotic zeal for the honour of his country.

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cordingly, soon after Athenion's departure, Joseph followed him into Egypt, and in an audience of the king, apologized for the strange behaviour of Onias, by observing that his old age had reduced him to a second childhood, "but of me who have not yet outlived my understanding, the king shall have no reason to complain." Ptolemy was pleased with his frankness; assigned him an apartment in his palace, and daily admitted him to his table.

The address by which he obtained this contract.

It happened that Joseph, in his way to Alexandria, had fallen in with several travellers from Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, men of distinction in their respective cities, who had set out for the capital of Egypt to be present at the sale of the provincial revenues, annually let to farm to the highest bidder. To inspire the better opinion of their wealth, they travelled with splendid equipages, and with numerous attendants; and were inclined to mock the mean equipment of Joseph, who had provided himself with servants and beasts of burden at an expense of 2,000 drachmas⁹¹. He despised their raillery, but was deeply attentive to their serious conversation; from which he learned that the largest sums likely to be given for the revenues in question, fell short by more than one half of their real value. Accordingly, on the day of sale, which was conducted in the presence of Ptolemy and Berenice, the highest price offered for the farm of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine amounted only to eight thousand talents. Joseph at once bid sixteen thousand, about three million sterling. Ptolemy was delighted to hear those provinces estimated at double their former assessment; but asked, as usual on such occasions, what sureties Joseph could produce for the fulfilment of his contract. The young Hebrew, who had discerned how much a jest was paramount in the king's deliberations to every serious reason, declared with much gravity, that he would give sureties of unquestionable probity, and unrivalled opulence. He then named Ptolemy himself and queen Berenice, who, he said, would be mutually

⁹¹ About 60%.

bound to each other, for the exact performance of his engagement. The king smiled consent; and Joseph, upon the credit of court favour, easily procured five hundred talents at Alexandria, to satisfy the arrears due by his uncle, and to equip himself suitably to the importance of his new employment. He was accompanied into Palæstine by a body of two thousand infantry. The cities of Ascalon and Scythopolis at first refused his demands; he punished in each place by death and confiscation about twenty persons, the ringleaders in sedition. This exemplary severity checked all farther disobedience; and it may be conjectured, that Joseph exercised the duty of collector with justice to the king, and without great oppression to the provinces, since he continued in his office twenty-two years under Euergetes and his immediate successor⁹².

The death of Ptolemy Euergetes shortly preceded that of Cleomenes his unfortunate ally. A king of Sparta, who had restored in his own country the austere discipline of Lycurgus, could not behold without indignation the wild follies and beastly vices of Philopater. This surname, denoting love for his father, created a suspicion that Ptolemy IV. had been guilty of parricide⁹³. The suspicion he confirmed, by commencing his reign with the murder of his mother Berenice and his brother Magas⁹⁴. Having thus secured, as he fancied, his government at home, he despised the nonage of Philip and Antiochus, his natural rivals abroad; committed the cares of state to servants worthy of such a master; and claimed the shameless perpetration of every enormity for the best of royal prerogatives⁹⁵. Cleomenes remarked his proceedings, and expressed his honest abhorrence of them. His words were repeated to the king and the crafty minister Sosibius. Instead of a fleet, which Cleomenes solicited to carry him to his country, and which new disturbances in Greece, since the demise of Antigonus Doson, would have

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Accession
of Ptolemy
IV. Philo-
pater, and
death of
Cleomenes.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

⁹² Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 4. v. c. 34.

⁹³ Justin, l. xxix. c. 1.

⁹⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

⁹⁴ Plutarch in Cleomen. Polyb. l.

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enabled him to employ with good prospect of success, he was seized and imprisoned, but being negligently guarded, escaped to the streets of Alexandria, and died there, with thirteen accompanying friends, after a romantic attempt to inspire with liberty the effeminate inhabitants of that place, who, instead of joining the insurgents, fled their approach, as that of wild beasts let loose from their confinement. To avoid the ignominious punishment which must soon overtake them, the Spartans perished by their own hands. The merciless Philopater wrecked his vengeance on the innocent children of Cleomenes. They were butchered before the eyes of his mother, who had carried them to Egypt for protection. This deed of horror was alone deprecated by the highminded Cratisiclea. She submitted to her own fate with Spartan firmness. Her female companions accompanied her death, exhibiting in this closing scene all the delicacy of their sex, with all the fortitude of their country⁹⁶. By orders of Philopater, the body of Cleomenes was fixed on a conspicuous cross for an example of terror. But it was terrible, chiefly to the king himself, who united the vilest superstition to his other execrable deformities. A serpent, it seems, hoisted itself round the cross, and defended, as it were, against birds of prey the body affixed to it. This prodigy tormented the tyrant, until a soothing poet of his court taught him to believe that as various insects are ingendered by the corruption of various animals, so serpents are produced by the putrifying spine of man. The fiction passed into an adage of the physical school of too credulous antiquity⁹⁷.

Superstitions and credulity of Philopater.

The Colossus of Rhodes thrown down by an earthquake.

Towards the close of Ptolemy Euergetes' reign, the Colossus of Rhodes was thrown down by an earthquake. This was the brazen statue of Apollo, protecting divinity of the

⁹⁶ ἡ μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμῶν ἐραμιλλῶς ἀγωνισαμένη τῷ γυναικίῳ δράματι, &c. Plutarch, p. 823.

⁹⁷ Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro, Mutari credunt humanas angue medullas. Ovid.

The lines are part of a translation of those of the Alexandrian poet Archelaus, preserved by his contemporary Antigonus Carystius. Vid. Paradox. Synagog.

Rhodians, erected by his grateful votaries after Demetrius Poliorcetes raised the famous siege of their capital⁹⁸. The artificer was Chares of Lindus, who completed the work in twelve years⁹⁹; sixty-two years afterwards it was overturned by a concussion of the earth, which also destroyed the magazines and arsenals, demolished the greater part of the fortifications, and totally deformed the city itself. The Colossus is usually described as a hundred and five feet high, striding across the entrance to the harbour, so that ships in full sail passed between its gigantic limbs, yet, had this really been its attitude, the great body of the figure, when broken off near the knee¹⁰⁰, must have fallen into deep water. But we are informed, on the contrary, that this huge monument remained on dry land eight hundred and ninety-eight years, when Moawiah, the sixth Caliph of the Saracens, after his conquest of Rhodes sold the ruins of the Colossus to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with its brass¹⁰¹.

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XIII.Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
B. C. 223.

If, with a well informed and most accurate historian¹⁰², we limit the supremacy of Alexander's successors to the third generation, the demolition of the Colossus of Rhodes is nearly contemporary with the downfall of Macedonian greatness. Under the immediately subsequent race, Macedon and Syria, as we shall see, were reduced to the condition of vanquished tributaries; and Egypt which escaped this misfortune by carefully observing the treaty concluded between Rome and Ptolemy Philadelphus, sunk into an ally continually growing more humble, until it had scarcely any honourable privilege to lose by passing into the state of a province. Towards the decline of that empire, or ascendancy, which the Greeks and Macedonians maintained in the world for the space of a century, the disasters which befel the Rhodians afforded an opportunity to the different

Benefac-
tions to
that state.⁹⁸ See above, vol. i. p. 433. & seq.⁹⁹ Pliny, l. xxxiv. c. 7.¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *ibid.* with Count Caylus, *Memoir* in vol. xxv. de l'Acad. des Inscript.¹⁰¹ Zonaras, Cedreneus, and Sca-liger, *Animadvers.* in Euseb. Chron.

p. 137. A Camel carries 700 pound weight; so that the remains of this figure still weighed 630,000 pounds.

¹⁰² Dionys. Halicarn. *Histor. Roman.* in Proem.

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members of that empire to attest their sympathy with a commonwealth, which more than any other of that age, served to link them together in commerce. Besides an animated intercourse with the states immediately around it, Rhodes traded with Byzantium, which commanded the commerce of the north; with Syracuse, which, by means of its connexion with Carthage, commanded that of the west; and with Alexandria in Egypt, which was master of that carried on both to the east and south. All these salutary streams of reciprocally useful traffic, which, in preceding parts of this work, have been particularly described, flowed into the Ægean sea, and centered in Rhodes, the great bond of connexion between distant emporiums, and through its civility and probity, so universal a favourite, that kings and republics vied with each other in kind commiseration for its sufferings, and in generous exertions for its relief¹⁰³. There was scarcely a city of any importance belonging to the Grecian name, which did not send to Rhodes a tribute of respectful compassion: but the enumeration appeared far too tedious to be undertaken, even by the historians of the times. Ptolemy Euergetes opened to them the vast naval repositories of his father; sent them timber, hemp, and canvas: he also presented them with ninety tons of brass to repair their Colossus, or cast a new one: with 300 talents in silver; and with a million measures¹⁰⁴ of corn. Antigonus Doseon of Macedon and his queen Chryseis supplied them abundantly with iron and lead, with deals and pitch¹⁰⁵. Among the gifts of Seleucus Keraunus, the shortlived predecessor of Antiochus, surnamed the Great, we may remark thirty ton of rosin, and an equal weight of hair for cordage¹⁰⁶. Prusias I. of Bithynia, Mithridates IV. of Pontus, vindicated their affinity to the Greek kings of the East, by generous donations to the Rho-

¹⁰³ Polybius, l. v. c. 88. & seq.

¹⁰⁴ *Ἀρτάβαι*, each Artaba was equal to an Attic Medimnus; that is, four pecks and six pints English.

¹⁰⁵ Part of it was in a crude state, since it consisted of 1000 *μετρητα*; a liquid measure equal to ten gallons

and two pints English.

¹⁰⁶ Hair for this purpose is mentioned together with *νευρα ἑρπασμια*, "prepared tendons or sinews of animals" which formed the fittest elastic cords for working military engines. Poly. l. iv. c. 56.

dians; who, after long making the world tributary to their commerce, now levied on it still larger and more honourable contributions to reward the liberality and good faith with which that commerce had been conducted. That the acts of munificence shown to them were intended as tokens of respect, appeared particularly in the largesses of Hieron king of Syracuse, and his son Gelon. Not contented with sending oil¹⁰⁷ for the use of gymnastic wrestlers, and catapults constructed by the wonderful skill of their friend and kinsman Archimedes, these princes caused a noble group of statuary to be erected in a square at Rhodes, where foreign traders exposed samples¹⁰⁸ of their merchandise, representing the citizens of Rhodes crowned by those of Syracuse. The famous Colossus, however, was never more replaced on its basis. To this design, the Oracle of Delphi interposed its sage prohibition¹⁰⁹, for a place liable to earthquakes was a very unfit site for such a towering monument. The Rhodians thus incurred the censure of meanly applying to less splendid uses, the gratuities bestowed on them for a public and sacred purpose. But this was the ignorant reproach of later times; for we shall see that only two years after repairing their city, they nobly signalized the virtues which had so universally endeared them; and by exertions peculiarly their own, procured common benefits to the whole commercial world.

¹⁰⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 88. & Diodorus in Eclog. vi. ex l. xxvi. The text of Polybius is imperfect, for the 75 talents cannot apply to the oil. Besides contributions in kind, the Rhodians sent money for many obliging purposes, as the expense of sacrifices and the procuring accom-

modations for the industrious poor, so I understand the doubtful words *επαυξῆσιν των πολιτων*, Ptolemy Euergetes also sent 300 talents.

¹⁰⁸ Thence this square was called *το δειγμα*. Vid. Suid. & Hesych.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 652.

CHAPTER XIV.

Fourth Generation of Alexander's Successors. Revolt of Media and Persis from Antiochus III. Intrigues of his Minister, Hermeias. War in Upper Asia. Negotiations with Ptolemy Philopater. Address of Ptolemy's Minister Sosibius. Battle of Raphia. Achæus' Power in Lesser Asia. War of commerce between the Rhodians and Byzantium. Achæus besieged in Sardes. His Capture and Death. Antiochus' Expeditions against the Parthians and Bactrians. He rescues Gerra from Arabs. Last stages of Ptolemy Philopater's Reign. Profanation of the Jewish Temple. Sedition in Alexandria. Letters and Arts.

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Fourth generation of Alexander's successors, Antiochus. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223. Philip and Ptolemy. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

DURING a full century after the death of Alexander, the three first successions of his generals enjoyed either an absolute jurisdiction, or a controlling predominancy over all those countries of the East, that fall within the sphere of ancient history. But in the fourth generation, the Greeks and Macedonians began to be precipitated from the supreme rank which they had long held among nations. This revolution, originating in domestic disorders, was accelerated by the impulse of a great foreign power, whose springs had recently been wound up in Italy, and which, after bursting that barrier, to lay prostrate Carthage and Sicily, assailed in succession the rich countries of the East with accumulating force, and most decisive effect. Immediately before this Roman warfare, the thrones of Syria and Macedon devolved respectively on Antiochus III. and Philip IV. both of them minors; and, at the same time, Egypt was subjected to the worse than puerile follies of Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopater¹. From such principal actors a very perturbed

¹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 70, 71. l. iv. c. 2. l. v. c. 40.

scene was to be expected. Greece, which had been united in peaceful tranquillity under the mild yet firm policy of Antigonus Doson, again exhausted its unhappy valour in what is called the social war. The throne of the young king of Syria was shaken by revolt in his provinces, and by discord in his family. Notwithstanding this unsoundness within, Antiochus was tempted by the mad cruelty of Ptolemy Philopater, which rendered him odious to his subjects, to make war on that profligate tyrant. From these general convulsions, many partial disorders flowed; and the empire was weakened by deep internal wounds, when the evil destiny of Philip and Antiochus involved them successively in hostilities with Rome. To unravel this complex subject, it is necessary to begin with the affairs of Syria.

When that kingdom was deprived of its head by the treacherous murder of Seleucus Keraunus in Lesser Asia, his brother Antiochus, presumptive heir to the crown, resided² in Babylon, that is, Seleucia Babylonia, the greatest city in the empire. Achæus, a general nearly connected with the royal line³, after punishing the murderers of Keraunus, might have been saluted king by the motly and mutinous army in Lesser Asia⁴. But he disdained the treachery of his troops, quelled their sedition, reviled their disloyalty, and overawed them into allegiance to the brother of their late sovereign. Antiochus was thus recalled from the East to the more central strong-hold of Antioch, the usual residence of his predecessors. The generous Achæus remained as governor in the provinces on this side mount Taurus; and Epigenes, a general eminent for abilities and integrity, conducted a portion of the western army to join the royal standard in Syria. The affairs of that country, and the general superintendence of the empire, had been committed by the late king, to Hermeias by birth a Carian; a man insinuating and artful, but

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Achæus' merit with Antiochus.

The pernicious minister Hermeias.

² Polybius, l. v. c. 40. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

³ He was cousin German to Antiochus, since his father Androma-

chus was maternal uncle to that prince. Polyb. l. iv. c. 51.

⁴ Id. l. v. c. 4. et l. iv. c. 2.

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subtle without wisdom, ambitious without valour, envious and vengeful in the extreme, and industrious to supply the want of every virtue, by boldness of intrigue, and unprincipled stratagems of well concerted villany. This knave, whose abilities were equally well calculated to gain and to abuse the confidence of princes, soon acquired an ascendancy over the youthful inexperience of Antiochus. The opinion of Hermeias was paramount in the council; and by his advice, Molon and Alexander, two brothers as unworthy as himself, were named respectively to the important satrapies of Media and Persis⁵.

Revolt of
Media and
Persis.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

Epigenes
exhorts the
king to
march to
the East.

These men were no sooner established in their governments, than they tampered with the allegiance of the troops, withheld pecuniary contributions, and at length openly revolted. Instead of being encouraged to oppose in person, this formidable rebellion, Antiochus was amused by the celebration of unequal nuptials with Laodicè, daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus⁶, still a small and weak kingdom; and though a council was afterwards held purposely to deliberate on war, the interested voice of the minister again defeated measures salutary to the empire. The loyal bravery of Epigenes warmly recommended an expedition to the East. The insurrections, he observed, might be yet checked by seasonable vigour. Little was to be apprehended from the partisans of Molon and Alexander, inconsiderable in number, destitute of faith to their lawful king, and not likely to be firm in adherence to upstart masters. Should the European troops, contrary to all probability, persevere in rebellion, such handfuls of men would be overwhelmed by the more honest natives of the provinces: Antiochus, therefore, had only to show himself among them, and the Asiatics would signalize their deep-rooted affection to his family, by seizing and surrendering to him the European rebels⁷.

⁵ Polyb. l. v. c. 41.

⁶ From Laodicè, mother to Seleucus Nicator, with whose house the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia became connected by affinity, that name grew nearly as common in

Syria and Lesser Asia, as Cleopatra was in Egypt. We shall see another Laodicè, daughter also to Mithridates IV. married to Achæus, Antiochus' kinsman.

⁷ Polybius, l. v. c. 41. & seq.

In reply to this sound advice, Hermeias upbraided its author for wishing to expose the tender age of the king to so laborious and dangerous a warfare. He proposed that two of his own creatures, Xenon, and Theodotus, surnamed Hemiolius from the hugeness of his stature, should be sent to Upper Asia against the rebels; and when these generals had fully shown their incapacity, again diverted Antiochus from the Median war, by recommending to him a nearer and safer expedition, for the recovery of Cœle-Syria out of the careless hands of Ptolemy Philopater. To enforce this latter measure in the council, Hermeias produced a forged letter, addressed, as he pretended, to himself, by Achæus, in which that governor of Lesser Asia revealed overtures from Ptolemy, advising him to despise the homage of his royal kinsman, and boldly to place the diadem on his own head, with an assurance that, if Achæus were not wanting to himself at this crisis of his fortune, Ptolemy would powerfully assist him with ships and money⁸. The deceit was successful: Antiochus eagerly adopted the expedition against Cœle-Syria.

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This prevented by the intrigues of Hermeias.

Before his preparations enabled him to take the field, the royalists in Upper Asia had been compelled to abandon Media to the rebels, and had retired for protection within the walled cities of Babylonia. The victorious Molon had proceeded to the banks of the Tigris, and would have passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, had not Zeuxis, a brave and intelligent officer commanding in Babylonia, destroyed the bridges of boats across the stream, and seized all the vessels by which it was navigated. Thus arrested in his progress, but not dejected as to his future prospects, Molon encamped in sight of Seleucia, at the place afterwards called Ctesiphon, on the eastern margin of the Tigris, and destined, under that name, to become the imperial seat of the Parthians, as Seleucia, directly opposite to it on the western side of the river, had been the capital of the Macedonians in Upper Asia⁹.

Progress of the rebels in Upper Asia.

⁸ Polybius, l. v. c. 42.⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

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Xenætas
sent by An-
tiochus
against the
rebels.

Antiochus, when apprised of these sad events, was again desirous of suspending his expedition against Ptolemy, and of marching in person to the East; but Hermeias continued to dissuade him from that salutary purpose by very childish arguments; alleging, in particular, that it was unworthy of a sovereign to take the field against traitorous subjects, and that a new general should be sent therefore against Molon, while Antiochus waged a more glorious war against Ptolemy, a king like himself. Accordingly Xenætas, an Achæan, was appointed to command in the East, through the influence of Hermeias, without the slightest recommendation from personal merit. The authority conferred on him exceeded his hopes as much as it surpassed his worth; and, in the whole conduct of his disastrous expedition, he exhibited the characteristic deformities of an upstart; intolerable insolence, and the most confident rashness. Having arrived at Seleucia, he summoned to his assistance Diogenes, governor of Susiana, and Pythiades, who commanded on the Arabian shores of the Persian gulph. His army, thus reinforced, encamped without the walls of Seleucia, and was gladdened by perpetual deserters from Molon, who swam to it across the Tigris, assuring their former friends and fellow soldiers, that the usurper was odious among his own troops, most of whom were still loyal in their hearts¹⁰.

His opera-
tions and
tragical de-
feat on the
banks of
the Tigris.

Upon these representations, Xenætas, who was well provided with vessels, passed the river eight miles below the enemy's post, with a large division of his horse and foot, leaving the remainder in his camp, under the command of Zeuxis and Pythiades. This embarkation being made in the night, the troops, at morning, found themselves in a place of security, defended partly by the Tigris, and partly by pools and marshes. A detachment of horse, which Molon sent to annoy them, sunk and perished in the mire. Upon learning this accident, Molon hastily left his camp, and, with the show of a precipitate retreat, directed his course towards Media.

¹⁰ Polybius, l. v. c. 48.

Xenætas doubted not that the usurper, fled the approach of an enemy through distrust of his own army. He took possession of the hostile camp, plenteously provided with all accommodations and luxuries. The greatest part of the troops, under Zeuxis, were ordered to cross the Tigris, and to join in festivity with their companions, preparatory to a triumphant expedition in search of the flying enemy; but Molon, by a rapid nocturnal march, surprised at dawn his recently forsaken camp, and assailed his improvident adversaries, buried in sleep and wine. Xenætas paid by death the just forfeit of his folly. The horror of men weltering on their bloody beds was surpassed by the more unusual disaster of those who had time to escape from immediate butchery. Being in sight of their camp on the opposite side of the Tigris, which they had recently quitted with such pleasing hopes, they threw into the river their arms and most valued effects, as if by some divine appointment these inanimate objects had been destined to reach the opposite bank. They then plunged boldly into the water, in order to follow their property; but dreadful was the delusion, and piteous its consequences! crowds of half armed men vainly struggling with the stream; horses, furniture of, all kinds, buoyant bucklers, and emerging bodies of the drowned. Zeuxis, who from the opposite shore observed the sad catastrophe, retired with a handful of men into Seleucia. Diogenes, the governor of Susiana gained, by a precipitate flight, the protection of the Susian citadel¹¹.

The rebels meanwhile were masters of the Tigris, and the transports collected on it by the enemy. In pursuance of their good fortune, they hastened to assault the wealthy and populous Seleucia, which, being unprepared for making any vigorous defence, had been abandoned both by Zeuxis, satrap of the province, and by Diomedon, governor of the city, men peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels, and likely, if they had fallen into their hands, to be subjected to the most

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The rebels gain Seleucia Babylonian, and the dependent provinces. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

¹¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 46.

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dreadful cruelties. Molon having easily gained possession of Seleucia, overran, with equal facility, the fertile district extending southwards to the Persian gulph. He then hastened to Susiana, that valuable eastern appendage to the rich Babylonian plain. The capital, Susa, submitted on the first assault; but Diogenes, at the head of a steady garrison, defied the invaders from the citadel, one of the strongest fortresses in the east, and long the principal depository, in those parts, of the royal treasures¹². Leaving part of his forces to besiege this important fortress, Molon returned to Seleucia, and directing his arms northward, subdued all the cultivated part of Mesopotamia, as far as Dura, on the left bank of the Tigris, about half way between Seleucia and Mosul, the more ancient but lesser Nineveh¹³.

Antiochus'
expedition
into Cœle-
Syria.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
B. C. 223.

When Antiochus learned the success of the rebels, he became more zealous than ever for marching into the upper provinces. Hermeias could no longer amuse him by the proposed conquest of Cœle-Syria, because that experiment had been tried unsuccessfully. The inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, for reasons formerly explained, were not less devoted to the Ptolemies, than the natives of Upper Asia were attached to the house of Seleucus. Ptolemy Philopater disgraced himself, indeed, in Alexandria, by unceasing scenes of profligacy and folly; but Theodotus, the Etolian, was his vigilant and warlike satrap in Cœle-Syria. At the perfidious instigation of Hermeias, Antiochus, however, had marched into this rude and mountainous province¹⁴, whilst the kernel of his eastern empire was a prey to ill resisted rebellion. His forces rendezvoused at Apamea, and proceeded southward to the plain of Marsyas, which opening on one hand to the Syrian desert, contracts on the other into a narrow valley, between the roots of Libanus and Antilibanus. Besides the natural defences of pools and marshes, abounding with aromatic reeds, Theodotus had fortified the valley with trenches and palisades;

Nature of
the coun-
try by
which he
penetrated.

¹² Polyb. l. v. c. 48. ¹³ See above, vol. i. sect. ii. p. 53. ¹⁴ Polyb. l. v. c. 46

and the strong castles of Brochi and Gerra, situate opposite to each other, on the inclosing mountains, were sufficient to arrest the progress of any other than the most determined enemy. Antiochus marched several days through the Mar-syan plain; but when he approached Gerra, and the inmost recess of Cœle-Syria, his juvenile ardour died away before the obstacles which Theodotus had skilfully opposed to him. His rash undertaking was hastily abandoned, after it had been attended with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace; and the army had again returned to Tetrapolis¹⁵, or Seleucian Syria, when the mortifying accounts of Molon's victories arrived from the east.

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Returns to
Antioch in
disgrace.

Hermeias, though he could no longer restrain his master from marching thither, determined at least that he should not be accompanied by Epigenes, whose abilities and honest boldness were the perpetual objects of his own guilty alarm. A mutiny of the troops was fomented, probably through his intrigues, since he undertook to find means of quelling it, provided the king should leave behind him Epigenes, in Apamea; and Antiochus consented to this disgraceful condition, so powerful had Hermeias become through his unwearied activity in gaining to his interest all who, either in a civil or military capacity, had access to the sovereign. By the payment of their arrears, the troops in general were appeased; about six thousand men, belonging to the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, alone continued refractory¹⁶. They refused to accompany the royal standard, and suffered long afterwards the punishment of their disobedience.

Marches
against the
rebels.

Epigenes
hindered
from ac-
company-
ing him.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

The king being joined by Zeuxis, from Babylonia, marched northwards to Chalybon, the modern Aleppo, passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and from thence traversed northern Mesopotamia, to the river Mygdonius, and the Greek city Antiochia Mygdonea, which adorned its banks. In this place, which became better known under its old oriental name of

He pro-
ceeds to
Nisibis.
Difference
between
his gene-
rals con-
cerning the
remainder
of the
march.

¹⁵ So called from its four principal cities, Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, and Selucia. See above, vol.

1. p. 143 et 483.

¹⁶ Polybius, l. v. c. 50.

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Nisibis, having arrived about the winter solstice, he halted forty days, with an army consisting of a complete Macedonian phalanx, numerous bodies of lighter armed Greeks, and crowds of Barbarian auxiliaries, among whom the Gauls were preeminent. From Nisibis he proceeded, after the rage of winter¹⁷ was spent, to the city of Liba, near the western bank of the Tigris. At Liba, a difference of opinion prevailed between Hermeias and Zeuxis, concerning the best mode of pursuing the remainder of the march to Babylonia¹⁸. Hermeias, with that constitutional cowardice which disgraced the boldness of his intrigues, maintained that the king ought to proceed southward, along the right bank of the Tigris, by which means that river, as well as the Lycus and Caprus, would be interposed between him and the main strength of the enemy¹⁹. Zeuxis, on the contrary, represented, that unless the army crossed the Tigris, they must penetrate through a broad desert²⁰ before they came to the royal canal joining the Tigris and Euphrates, where it would be easy for Molon, with a far inferior force, to arrest their progress. He advised, therefore, that Antiochus should cross the Tigris, descend to Dura, near its eastern bank, and from thence advancing to mount Zagros, fall down on the territory of Apollonia, an intermediate district between Babylonia and Media, colonized and cultivated by Greeks, all warmly attached to the royal cause. By this movement Molon would be excluded from his resources in Media, particularly the rich Nisæan fields; and in order to regain admission into that country, the head and spring of his rebellion, would be tempted either to risk a battle, or, declining that danger, would infallibly lose all control over his reluctant and now exasperated followers.

He advances to Apollonia.

Conformably to this sound advice, the army, in three divisions, crossed the Tigris. Having proceeded to Dura,

¹⁷ He was near Mount Masius, the cold northern boundary of Mesopotamia.

¹⁸ Polyb. l. v. c. 51.

¹⁹ For the geography see above, vol. 1. p. 51. &c.

²⁰ He said 100 miles broad. Polyb. *ibid.*

they defeated a large body of rebels, who were then besieging that place. In the space of eight days, they traversed the mountainous country eastward of Dura, and fell down on the Apollonian district. When Molon learned the approach of the royal army, he immediately conjectured the course which it was likely to pursue. He therefore crossed the Tigris, in hopes of defending the defiles which led towards Apollonia, or of greatly annoying the enemy's progress, by means of his numerous slingers, the Kurtii, or Curds. The rapidity of Antiochus had frustrated this design; and a detachment, sent by him from Apollonia, encountered among the hills the foremost division of the rebels. After a slight skirmish, both parties fell back to their respective armies, which encamped at the distance of five miles from each other. As Molon well knew the disaffection among his own troops, he was unwilling to meet the king face to face, and in the clear light of day; he therefore selected the firmest and bravest of the number, with whom making a circuit round, he purposed to descend from a neighbouring eminence, and thus surprise Antiochus's camp in the night. But this design was defeated by the desertion of ten youths, who hoped, by seasonable intelligence, to atone for past rebellion. Molon, upon learning their escape, marched back to his own camp, which the unexpected return of his detachment filled with alarm and tumult.

Molon disappointed in his attempt to surprise the king's camp.

At dawn, Antiochus was in the field, commanding in person his right wing. Molon was likewise obliged to prepare for battle, because inaction, under his circumstances, would be certain ruin, the countries which he had usurped longing to return to their allegiance, and even the greater part of his army being ill affected to his cause. His brother, Neolaus, commanded the right wing; Molon, on the left, opposed Antiochus. The armies had no sooner come in sight of each other, than the division under Molon, beholding the young and graceful Antiochus, then in his nineteenth year, and the lineal descendent of the revered Seleucus Nicator, were seized with a sudden and unanimous reso-

Molon's army deserts him. His destruction, and that of his family. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 99.

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XIV. up to oppose. Their revolt occasioned the total ruin of the
insurgents. Molon slew himself in despair; Neolaus fled into
Persis, to Alexander the third of the rebellious brothers,
and persuaded him to avoid an ignominious execution, by
accompanying himself in a voluntary death. Their principal
accomplices submitted to the same fate. Antiochus pardoned
their deluded followers, after severely reprimanding their
disloyalty: the body of the traitor Molon was fixed to a cross,
on the most conspicuous pinnacle of mount Zagros²¹.

Hermeias' cruelties in Seleucia restrained by Antiochus.

Antiochus having named new governors for Persis and Media, marched towards Seleucia, and received the submissions of that great city, and the invaluable contiguous territory. The unworthy Hermeias, whose name had remained in obscurity during the war, again emerged into odious distinction upon peace. He raged with ungoverned fury against the Chaldæans, priests and judges among the Asiatic inhabitants of Seleucia; imposing on them enormous fines, exacted with relentless cruelty. It is uncertain to what lengths his tyranny would have proceeded, had not the compassion of Antiochus restrained it²².

Antiochus reduces the Lesser Media. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

That young prince, having restored tranquillity to the provinces around the Tigris and Euphrates, marched into northern Media, which had abetted the rebellion of the great southern country bearing the same name. The Lesser Media, as we have seen, had received the epithet of Atropatena, from the hereditary satrap, who had manfully defended its independence. Artabazanes, a descendent of Atropates, commanded in the same rugged and mountainous territory, and with a mind as obstinate as his country was impracticable, for many years set the Macedonians at defiance; but he was now softened by the infirmities of old age, so that when Antiochus appeared on his frontier with a victorious

²¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 53 and 54.

²² Id. *ibid*.

army, he submitted to every condition which the invader thought proper to impose on him²³. CHAP.
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The cowardly Hermeias had reluctantly followed his master into a rough country, against a formidable enemy. He had employed his usual artifices for preventing the expedition; but his intrigues had been defeated, and the time was now come when he was to pay the forfeit of his innumerable villanies. One of the basest of them had lately come to light. When the brave and honest Epigenes was compelled by his contrivances to quit the army, and to remain behind at Apamea, Hermeias determined that the place of his adversary's exile should be made the scene of his death. In perpetrating this enormity, he found a ready instrument in Alexis, his creature, and governor of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and clandestinely introduced among his papers. When this was effected, by means of a suborned slave, Alexis was presently at hand to arraign a general, high in favour with Antiochus, as holding correspondence with the usurper. Epigenes denied the fact; his papers were searched; the letter forged by Hermeias was found; and Epigenes, through the basest treachery, was condemned and punished as a traitor²⁴.

An account of this execrable transaction had reached Antiochus, but so diligently had Hermeias fortified himself by creatures and accomplices, that he was the object of fear even to his master. At length the physician Apollophanes, divining the king's unfriendly disposition towards his minister, encouraged him to anticipate the designs of a man capable of every wickedness. Their measures were soon concerted. On pretence that the king was affected with a giddiness in his head, he was advised to walk early in the cool morning air, unmolested by the bustle of his guards and courtiers. A few particular friends, all partners in the conspiracy, except Hermeias, who was its object, attended their royal master, who, after reaching a due distance from

Crimes and
punish-
ment of
Hermeias.

Means by
which the
letter was
accom-
plished.

²³ Polybius, l. v. c. 55.

²⁴ Id. l. v. c. 51.

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Destruc-
tion of his
family.

This was the sign for his attendants to despatch Hermeias with their daggers. In his return to Syria, the councils and actions of Antiochus were highly celebrated at every place through which he passed; but none of his exploits were so loudly extolled as the removal, even by assassination, of his dangerous and detested minister. Such was the public rage against this abuser of royal authority, and such the sanguinary fierceness of the age, that the women of Apamea, when they heard of the murder of Hermeias, laid violent hands on his wife; the children of the place also stoned to death his children²⁵.

Achæus
fortifies
himself in
Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
xxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

The mischief of Hermeias's administration did not end with himself. His jealousy of every kind of merit had alienated from Antiochus his generous kinsman Achæus, to whose loyalty and bravery that prince owed the preservation of his western dominions. Through the perfidy of court intrigues, Achæus was driven into the rebellion of which he had been falsely accused; and before Antiochus returned from Upper Asia, assumed, for his own safety, sovereignty in the Peninsula, or rather in those parts of it not formerly dismembered from the Syrian power. As the troops which Antiochus left behind him in Syria were discontented, particularly those belonging to the district of Cyrrhus, his lieutenants were altogether unable, in his absence, to cope with so powerful a rebel; and when the king, in person, returned with his triumphant army from the East, fortune withheld him from Lesser Asia, by presenting a nearer field of victory²⁶.

Theodo-
tus, the
Etolian,
puts him in
possession
of Cœle-
Syria.
Olymp.
exl. 1.
B. C. 220.

This was the age of bad ministers; and what Hermeias had been in Syria, Sosibius was in Egypt. Provided he could engross power, and amass wealth, Sosibius was altogether careless of the disgraceful follies of his master Ptolemy Philopater, who, in contempt of his highspirited queen and sister Arsinoe, wallowed in shameless profligacy with

²⁵ Polyb. v. 56.

²⁶ Idem. l. v. c. 58.

Agathoclea a common harlot, her infamous mother Oenanthe, and her brother Agathocles, a wretch more abominable than either. To such persons, Theodotus the brave Etolian, to whom Philopater owed the preservation of Cœle-Syria, had rendered himself obnoxious. Instead of receiving any due rewards for his merit, he incurred the hatred both of the king and his minister. To anticipate their vengeance, Theodotus had recourse to Antiochus just returned from his successful expedition into Upper Asia; and the same man who had skilfully defended Cœle-Syria against that prince, now offered to put him in possession of several strong-holds there, as well as of the seaports of Tyre and Ptolemais, with forty sail in their harbours. Theodotus' proposals were accepted; his promises were performed; in a single campaign, Antiochus recovered most places in Cœle-Syria: and, as another portion of his troops expelled from Seleucia Pieria the Egyptians, who had garrisoned that city twenty-six years since its capture by Ptolemy Euergetes, the Syrian power, nearly consolidated in itself, assumed a very formidable position with regard to Egypt²⁷.

That Philopater's ministers were of this opinion, appeared from their giving orders to destroy the wells between Egypt and Syria, and to open the floodgates of the Nile near Pelusium, that the country being laid under water, might interrupt an invading enemy. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Antiochus to negotiate a truce, until peace on equitable terms might be concluded between the two kingdoms. In this embassy they were successively joined by Rhodians, Byzantines, and other Greeks, who, having been long connected with Egypt in the bands of commerce and amity, used their utmost endeavours to avert the calamities which seemed to threaten that country. A long negotiation was thus entered into between the courts of Antioch and Memphis, for in the latter city Sosibius and Agathocles chose to receive the ambassadors of Antiochus. Their rea-

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He threatens Egypt which is saved by an artfully protracted negotiation. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

²⁷ Polyb. l. v. c. 59. & seq.

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Meanwhile
the Egyp-
tians col-
lect and
discipline a
great ar-
my.

son for this preference shows, that, though destitute of every virtue, they were not deficient in the wiles of policy.

While the ambassadors of Antiochus were treated with unbounded respect, and every conference held with them tended to confirm their opinion that the lazy voluptuous Philopater would be glad to purchase peace by the meanest compliances, armed men were gradually collected, embodied, and disciplined under skilful Greek officers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inland garrisons were drained; those provinces on the southern coast of Lesser Asia long subject to the Ptolemies, supplied numerous recruits; Cyrenè and other dependencies in Africa sent considerable reinforcements; above all, the Peloponnesians, Cretans, and other still warlike Greeks, were eager to enlist in a profitable service. During the long protracted negotiation, an army was thus assembled at Alexandria, consisting of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants: the magazines of arms and provisions were fully adequate to such a mighty force ²⁸.

They end
the nego-
tiation and
take the
field.—
Forces on
both sides.

When all preparations were in readiness, the ambassadors of Ptolemy began to throw off the mask. They maintained, that after the defeat of Antigonus, surnamed the Cyclops, Cœle-Syria in the partition of his spoils had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter, and ought therefore to be restored to his descendent, especially since it had been recently wrested from him only through the perfidious treason of Theodotus the Etolian. But though they thus stigmatized a rebel to their own king, they insisted that Achæus, who had now openly rebelled against Antiochus, should be included as a party in the peace, and enjoy his usurped possessions. Antiochus could not hear such propositions with patience. He was at the head of an army little less powerful than Ptolemy's, since it consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, with upwards of an hundred elephants.

²⁸ Polyb. l. v. c. 64. & seq.

Meanwhile the Egyptians moved from Alexandria to Pelusium, and from thence to Raphia, which, after Rhinocolura, is the nearest city of Cœle-Syria²⁹ on the side of Egypt. Before they performed this laborious march, Antiochus with the lighter part of his army had advanced to Gaza, only forty miles distant; and when he had been joined there by his more heavily armed troops, proceeded slowly in the day, and in the night pitched his camp within less than a mile's distance from the enemy. Frequent skirmishes happened daily between parties that went abroad in search of provisions and water: and the ground between the adverse camps, became the scene of fierce encounters both of cavalry and infantry. But the exploit of Theodotus the Etolian, surpassed all the rest in boldness. At once to gratify his personal resentment and to finish the war by an illustrious vengeance, he advanced with two daring companions into the enemy's camp, and through favour of darkness and disguise³⁰, penetrated to the royal pavilion in which Ptolemy used to sup with his friends and give audience. But the king commonly slept in a more private tent, which circumstance being unknown to Theodotus, he missed his purpose of killing him, and stabbed, instead of Ptolemy, his physician Andreas; after wounding two others, he escaped without hindrance to the surrounding entrenchment. Even there, his resistless courage suffered but a slight interruption³¹.

Ptolemy, finding that danger pursued him in his camp itself, became impatient for battle. His light skirmishers and cavalry poured from their entrenchments, and began to form in the plain westward of Raphia, inclosing between their outspreading wings the phalanx of about thirty thousand men, with a due proportion of *hypaspists*. The army of Antiochus contained the same distinctions of troops, and nearly in the same proportions. Intermixed with Greeks and Macedonians, chosen men from the remotest dependencies of Syria

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Preparations for the battle of Raphia. Olymp. cxi. 2. B. C. 219.

Attempt of Theodotus on the life of Ptolemy.

Advantage of Ptolemy's foreign troops over those of Antiochus.

²⁹ Polybius uses the word in a large sense, thereby including Judæa. the Egyptian troops were variously dressed and armed.

³¹ Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 18. et III.

³⁰ This was the more easy, as Maccabees, c. i.

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and Egypt, augmented the heavy armed infantry in either line. On both sides there were Thessalian cavalry, and Theban spearmen; crafty Cretans, fierce Thracians, and ferocious Gauls; for the wealth of the two most powerful kingdoms of the East had purchased martial auxiliaries wherever they could be found. But the European troops of Ptolemy had an advantage over those of his rival: they came more recently from their native provinces, and carried with them that unbroken vigour and inborn bravery, which always suffered decay through any long contact with Egyptian and Asiatic softness.

Battle of
Raphia,
and victory
of Philopa-
ter.
Olymp.
exl. 3.
B. C. 218.

Before the signal for action, the two kings, as by mutual consent, rode round their respective armies, and animated them to a battle which was to decide the preeminence between Syria and Egypt. In his progress along the line, Philopater was accompanied by his highminded queen Arsinoë, eager to share the dangers of her unworthy husband, whose debased profligacy was incompatible with every conjugal virtue. Having finished his review, Ptolemy took his post on the left. Antiochus placed himself on his right, in direct opposition; both kings were surrounded by royal troops of *equestrian companions*³², though those select bands were not employed by either, in the way that had made them the great instruments of Alexander's victories. Instead of clearing the ground by the horse, to make room for the unbroken assault of the phalanx, both Ptolemy and Antiochus had placed a line of elephants before their cavalry. These fierce animals advanced to the charge; and a singular spectacle was exhibited by the spearmen fighting from towers on their backs, and one still more extraordinary, by the elephants themselves, who rushed together with adverse fronts, and strove with their implicated trunks to force each other from his ground; until the stronger having pushed aside the proboscis of his adversary, and forced him to turn his flank,

³² Antiochus' *ἰση βασιλική*, denotes the same thing with Ptolemy's *ἀγῆμα*. Polybius, l. v. c. 84. See above, vol i. c. i. p. 207. et seq.

then pierced him in many parts with his tusks, as a bull gores with his horns³³. At length the Egyptian elephants were repelled by the superior size, and strength, and fury of their rival warriors from India; and the confusion, which their rout occasioned, was followed by the defeat of Ptolemy's left wing, the king himself being obliged to fly for safety behind his phalanx. While Antiochus incautiously urged the pursuit, and was eager to push to the utmost his partial advantage, Echebrates, the Thessalian, who commanded Ptolemy's right wing, taking warning by what had happened at the other extremity of the field, determined, instead of advancing his elephants to the unequal combat, to defile with his Thessalian and other horsemen, until they had stretched beyond the extremity of Antiochus' left wing. To occupy the enemy's attention during this decisive movement, the Greek mercenaries on the side of Echebrates rushed against the troops posted in opposition to them, at the same time that the Thessalian horse prepared for their resistless attack in flank and rear. By this means, Antiochus was defeated as completely on the left, as he had proved victorious on the right. The phalanxes thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain. Ptolemy on this occasion, passed quickly with Arsinoe and his attendants from rear to front. Their sudden appearance, infused courage into the Egyptian line, and dismayed the enemy. The battle on the side of Antiochus was sustained with vigour only by Theodotus the Etolian, who commanded the select bands of Syria, many of whom were armed with silver shields in imitation of Alexander's *Argyraspides*. But the heavier phalanx, under the inauspicious guidance of Theodotus the Hemiolian, quickly gave way; and his intrepid namesake to avoid being attacked in flank, was compelled to accompany his flight. Antiochus, meanwhile, had been carried forward with a juvenile ardour, as if the engagement had every where been successful, because his own wing was victorious. One

³³ Polybius, l. v. c. 84.

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of his more experienced attendants at length showed him clouds of dust flying in the direction of his camp. He then returned from the pursuit towards the scene of action, but found the battle irretrievably lost. He retreated first to Raphia, where many of the fugitives had entered, and before the next morning proceeded from thence towards Gaza ³⁴.

Peace be-
tween
Egypt and
Syria.
Olymp.
xi. 3.
B.C. 218.

In acknowledgment of his defeat, he sent from that place heralds to Ptolemy, craving leave to bury his slain. Ten thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen lay dead on the field: above four thousand had been made prisoners. There fell on the side of Ptolemy, fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. The battle of Raphia restored to Egypt the undisturbed possession of Cœle-Syria, Palæstine, and Phœnicia. Antiochus retired northwards to his well fortified capital on the banks of the Orontes, from whence a truce for a year, and afterwards a lasting peace was negotiated between himself and Ptolemy ³⁵.

Greatness
of Achæus
in Lesser
Asia.

In consequence of this treaty, which allowed the latter of these princes to exhibit, as we shall see presently, the total worthlessness of his character, his useful ally Achæus was left to maintain alone the contest in Lesser Asia. During Antiochus' occupations in the East and in Cœle-Syria, Achæus had made himself the most powerful of the four princes, who now divided among them the inland parts of the peninsula. The center of his dominion consisted in the usurped countries of Phrygia and Lydia: he had extended his possessions in the north at the expense of Prusias of Bithynia, had confined Attalus of Pergamus within the ancient limits of his small hereditary kingdom; and with Mithridates of Pontus, he had contracted an alliance and received in marriage Laodicè, sister to a princess known also by the same name, formerly married to Antiochus.

Commer-
cial war be-
tween the

The greatness of Achæus' power appeared in a war, which, during the contest between Ptolemy and Antiochus

³⁴ Polybius, l. v. c. 82—87.

³⁵ Id. ibid

for Cœle-Syria, the city of Byzantium carried on against the island of Rhodes; the first war on record, originating in principles purely commercial. The Byzantines, to repair the losses sustained by the ravages and impositions of the Gauls, had revived a vexatious toll, anciently established by Athens in the zenith of her maritime power, on all trading vessels which passed into the Euxine³⁶. The merchants belonging to the neighbouring seaports of the peninsula exclaimed loudly against the injustice of this imposition. They blamed not less severely the tameness of the Rhodians, then preeminent at sea, for permitting a tyrannous extortion by which they, in common with other commercial sates, were sufferers. Thus piqued in their pride as well as stimulated by interest, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Byzantium, requiring the toll to be abolished. Their demand was rejected with scorn; and although the Rhodians declared war, and immediately sent a fleet of ten galleys to the narrow seas; though Prusias of Bithynia seized the fortress Hieron, and all that part of Mysia which the Byzantines had long occupied; though the Thracians pressed them on the side of Europe, as much as Prusias did on that of Asia, yet they remained firm and resolute, in the hope merely that Achæus would espouse their cause; nor, till this hope vanished, did they become willing to purchase peace by abolishing the obnoxious impost³⁷.

The reason that made Achæus frustrate the expectations which the Byzantines had conceived of him, shows that his filial piety was not unworthy of his great abilities and spirit. His father Andromachus had, before his own rebellion against Antiochus, been made captive in the first scene of the war between that prince and Ptolemy, and was still detained a prisoner in Egypt notwithstanding the friendly dispositions, founded on mutual interest, that began to take place between Achæus and the Egyptian king. The Rhodi-

CHAP.
XIV.
Byzantines
and Rhodi-
ans.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 981.

Reason
which hin-
dered
Achæus
from assist-
ing the By-
zantines.

³⁶ The toll established by the Athenians was at Chrysopolis opposite to Byzantium, now the Asiatic suburb, as it were of Constantinople. It produced, Demosthenes

says, 200 talents, about 40,000*l.* yearly. Demosthen. ad Leptin. Conf. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 542.

³⁷ Polybius, l. iv. c. 48. & seq.

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ans, who, as we have before seen, maintained a close and animated intercourse with Egypt and a hereditary friendship with the Ptolemies, well knew the eagerness of Achæus to rescue his father from the power of a man so cruel and capricious as Philopater. After repeated solicitations at the court of Alexandria, they at length obtained the liberation of Andromachus; and carrying him in one of their own vessels to his son, thereby determined the latter to abandon all thoughts of interposing in behalf of Byzantium ³⁸.

Antiochus
besieges
Achæus in
Sardes.
Olymp.
cxli. 1, 2.
B. C. 216—
215.

The conclusion of the Cœle-Syrian war enabled Antiochus to exert his undivided strength against his rebellious kinsman in Lesser Asia. Having penetrated the Cilician passes, he appeared with a well composed army in the rich Phrygian plain; and after summoning to his standard Attalus of Pergamus, the exasperated enemy of Achæus, in the course of a single campaign he divested this usurper of his most valued acquisitions, drove him from the open country, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Sardes the capital of Lydia. Into this place Achæus conducted the flower of his army. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art; the citadel was deemed impregnable; and as Achæus had foreseen the evils likely to fall on him, both had been amply supplied with all necessaries for subsistence and defence. Antiochus sat down before the place, and continued to besiege it during nearly two years, in which space of time many assaults were made by day and night, in all of which the boldness of the besiegers was more boldly repelled, and their stratagems encountered and defeated by still superior address. Antiochus, thus baffled in all his attempts, converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to remain before Sardes until hunger should subdue his adversary ³⁹.

Sardes
taken
through
the cunning
of Lagoras
the Cretan.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

But he had not long embraced this resolution, when Lagoras, a crafty Cretan, inspired him with hopes of bringing the war to a more speedy issue. Lagoras had learned from a long military experience, that the strongest places were often assailed with most success on that very side, where over-

³⁸ Polybius, l. iv. c. 51.

³⁹ Id. l. vii. c. 15.

hasty opinion pronounced them impregnable. There was a part of the Sardinian walls, joining the citadel with the city, built on craggy rocks, overhanging a rugged valley, and which the besiegers called "the Saw," from the sharp protuberances and notches indenting its summit. That this part of the fortification was unguarded, Lagoras was led to conjecture from the following circumstance. Though the dead bodies of men and cattle were usually precipitated from "the Saw" into the rocky abyss below it, yet the vultures who flocked thither for their prey often reposed on the high adjacent wall after gorging themselves among the deep and hollow caverns. Lagoras having carefully examined the situation, discerned a part of the fortification to which it would not be difficult to make approaches unperceived, and securely to fix ladders ⁴⁰. He lost no time in communicating his discovery to Antiochus; and requested that, in so arduous an undertaking, he might be assisted by the ready boldness of Theodotus the Etolian, and of Dionysius who commanded that distinguished portion of the *hypaspists* forming the royal guard. The three adventurers concerted measures among themselves, and made the necessary preparations. For executing their design, they chose a night, of which the latter part received not any benefit from the moon. In the preceding evening, they had selected fifteen men the stoutest and boldest in the army; who accompanied them, bearing the scaling ladders. They were followed by thirty others, who, after Lagoras and his companions had passed the walls, and were occupied in removing the bolts or bars on the inside of the gate, might exert themselves as vigorously from without, in destroying its cramps and hinges. Two thousand soldiers succeeded at a due distance, ready, when the gate was burst open, to rush into the area surrounding the theatre, a post highly convenient for their purpose between the city and citadel. The design was executed with an intrepidity and precision equal to the craft and secrecy with which it had been

⁴⁰ Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

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concerted. Sheltered by darkness and the projecting brow of a craggy eminence, the assailants made their approaches unperceived, fixed the scaling ladders to the walls, and at the dawn of morning, at which time the "Saw" was left altogether unguarded, began to climb into the city. They could not be seen because of the interposing rocks, either by Achæus, commanding in the citadel, or his lieutenant Ariobazus, then posted in the city. But they were distinctly viewed by the soldiers in Antiochus' camp, whose mingled emotions at so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle, might have alarmed the enemy, had not a detachment been instantly sent to attack, by way of diversion, the opposite gate on the east, called the Gate of Persia. Ariobazus marched thither with a superior force, and rashly issuing from the gate, engaged in an unseasonable skirmish with the enemy. Achæus, more discerning, sent troops to the western side, towards which he had observed the attention of Antiochus' camp to be directed. But as they had to traverse slowly many rough and intricate paths, they did not arrive in time to hinder the gate near the "Saw" from being broke open, and Lagoras, with upwards of two thousand men, from forming on the area around the theatre ⁴¹.

The city
sacked.

When it was discovered that the besiegers had got within the city, Ariobazus returned in such hasty confusion, that many of the enemy entered together with him the gate of Persia. A general assault followed; the entrances were forced open on all sides: Ariobazus, totally overpowered, escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while Sardes became a prey to rapacity and vengeance, and suffered by fire and sword all the evils incident to rebellious cities stormed by enraged conquerors.

Achæus
long de-
fends the
citadel
against the
whole Sy-
rian army.

Achæus had the mortification to behold from his fortress the dreadful calamities inflicted on his faithful Sardians, without the possibility of affording them the smallest relief.

⁴¹ Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

His only resource against death by torture consisted in the strength of the citadel, and his perseverance in defending it. CHAP.
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But Antiochus was not less persevering in the siege; careless of other concerns, provided he could get into his hands this daring rebel.

In this situation of affairs, Ptolemy, or rather his minister Sosibius, began to think that they had too much neglected the safety of an ally, whose boldness and dexterity might render him highly useful to their interest. The Syrians bore with impatience the long absence of their king; the melancholy firmness of Achæus, a man nearly related to the throne, excited in them mingled sentiments of admiration and pity; and if he should escape from his strong-hold, and appear unexpectedly at Antioch, a powerful party would be ready to espouse his cause, and enable him to dispute with Antiochus the crown of Syria, which had been formerly tendered to him. A civil war in Syria would, at any rate, according to the maxims too ordinary in state policy, be advantageous to the neighbouring and rival monarchy of Egypt. Under these impressions, Sosibius applied to Bolis, a Cretan in Ptolemy's service, who had attained all those rewards and honours which the king bestowed on his favourite generals, but whose insatiable mind still sighed after higher accumulations of wealth, and more conspicuous marks of distinction. Sosibius told the Cretan, that nothing could give him greater merit with Ptolemy, than the contrivance of some means by which Achæus might effect his escape from the Sardinian citadel⁴².

The crafty Bolis, having taken a few days for deliberation, returned with a smiling countenance to the minister. He acquainted him that Cambylus, his countryman, his relation, and most intimate friend, commanded for Antiochus a post behind the citadel, which being extremely difficult of access, had not been fortified by walls, but which was strongly guarded, night and day, by a trusty band of Cretans. Upon his connexion with Cambylus, Bolis grounded the fairest hopes of success; and Sosibius supplied a bag of money

Ptolemy forms a project for enabling Achæus to escape.

Converted into the means of delivering Achæus to his enemies. Olymp. cxli. 3.— B. C. 214.

⁴² Polybius, l. viii. c. 17. et seq.

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without which nothing could be done in such an undertaking. He also provided Bolis with letters of credence, written in cipher, to Nichomachus of Rhodes, and Melancomas of Ephesus, confidential agents of Achæus, by means of whom that general had formerly carried on all his secret negotiations with Ptolemy. To these men Bolis, sailing first to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephesus, fully communicated his design, towards the success of which he found them most zealous to cooperate. He then sent Arian, an officer who had served under him in Ptolemy's army, to acquaint Cambylus that he had come from Alexandria to hire mercenaries, and to request him to name the time and place for a private interview.

How this
was effect-
ed.

In consequence of this message, the two Cretans met in the night: Bolis produced a letter containing the heads of his project. Upon this writing, he and his friend held a consultation highly becoming the flagitious maxims and unprincipled boldness of their country. In this truly Cretan conference, they paid not the smallest regard to the interest of their respective masters; neither of them bestowed a thought on the safety of the unhappy Achæus; the sole point in deliberation was, which of their employers they might dupe with most profit and safety. At length, after examining all the sides and bearings of the affair, they agreed to divide between them ten talents already received from Sosibius, and then to bargain for a new bribe from Antiochus, for betraying Achæus into his hands. Cambylus seized a fit opportunity for opening the business to Antiochus. The king's professions of gratitude corresponded with his transports of joy. Bolis obtained letters of credence in favour of Cambylus and himself, addressed to Achæus by his sincere friends Nichomachus and Melancomas. These letters were delivered to the besieged prince by Arian, for whom Cambylus was careful to procure safe access to the citadel. Achæus, with the distrust of a man long versed in affairs, and whose life was at stake, questioned Arian with equal anxiety and subtlety. The answers which he received from him concerning the enterprise itself, and all the parties

concerned in it, were delivered with an air of genuine truth; for Arian, though privy to the original design in favour of Achæus, was altogether ignorant of the subsequent intrigue for making his rescue from the citadel the means of surrendering him to Antiochus. The behaviour of Arian affording much satisfaction, he was sent back with an answer to Melancomas, at Ephesus, about fifty miles distant from Sardes; and, through the same messenger, several other letters passed between Achæus and his firm Ephesian friend. At length Achæus wrote to him that he had taken his resolution; he desired, therefore, that Bolis, together with Arian, might be sent to him the first moonless night. Bolis received with alacrity the expected summons to action; and after spending a whole day with Cambylus, to adjust with him their several parts in the plot, was, in the evening that preceded its execution, presented privately to Antiochus in his tent, and by him confirmed in his purpose, through the prospect of vast rewards. From his secret interview with Antiochus, Bolis proceeded to the neighbourhood of the citadel, and there joining Arian, who waited for him, was presently admitted to Achæus. The behaviour of Bolis was frank and manly; and the intrepidity of his looks and words bespoke a character calculated to succeed in any the boldest enterprise. Yet Achæus did not think fit entirely to trust him. He accordingly pretended, that, for the arrangement of his future proceedings, it was necessary that a few of his friends should be placed in safety at Ephesus, before he himself attempted to effectuate his escape. With this view, Bolis and Arian were desired to retire to the gate of the citadel, and to wait there until five persons joined them, whom they were to take under their guidance. Meanwhile Achæus visited his affectionate wife Laodicè, and for the first time disclosed to her the secret of his intended departure. The sudden intelligence disturbed her understanding. He spent a considerable time in endeavouring to calm her disorder; and then assuming a coarse and vulgar habit, with four of his friends dressed

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as meanly as himself, followed Bolis and Arian to the place appointed, after charging the companions of his flight that one of them only should speak with their conductors. At first Bolis was disconcerted, not knowing which of the fugitives was Achæus, nor indeed whether that prince was of the number; but as they had to pass many rough craggs and dangerous precipices, the attention involuntarily shown by the others in handing and helping the disguised Achæus, enabled the crafty Bolis to discern his victim. When they had advanced to a part of the mountain agreed on between himself and Cambylus, Bolis whistled by way of signal; Cambylus, with a party of armed men, started from their ambush; the former of these traitors grasped Achæus in his arms, and so enveloped him in his own mantle, that he was unable to use his dagger. The four others were secured by the followers of Cambylus.

Achæus
brought to
Antiochus
in bonds.
Behaviour
of the lat-
ter.

Achæus, in bonds, was brought that same night to Antiochus, who lay sleepless in his tent waiting the event. At sight of an adversary, long the object of his terror, now humbled in the dust, Antiochus remained confused and speechless, until his faculties were revived by the warmth of sympathetic tears, which flowed plenteously at a spectacle so impressive of the sad vicissitudes of fortune.

Punish-
ment of the
former.

His compassion, if it ever reached the heart, was dissipated next morning by the presence of his ministers and generals. In a council, hastily assembled in the royal tent, it was agreed that Achæus should suffer the death of a traitor. The extremities were severed from his trunk, which, wrapped in an ass's skin, was fixed on a cross. On the highest part of that instrument of torture, the head, separated from the body, and uncovered, declared the unhappy criminal; a man ennobled by many virtues, before the deceitfulness of prosperity conspired with royal ingratitude to drive him into rebellion⁴³.

⁴³ Polybius, l. viii. c. 17—23.

The tumultuary acclamations of the camp, which accompanied his execution, were deeply suspected by Laodicè, who alone was apprised of her husband's flight, and inwardly trembled for his safety. A herald soon arrived in the citadel, to announce the fate of Achæus. That fortress was filled, first with lamentation, and then with discord. Antiochus renewed his assaults, which finally prevailed; the highminded Laodicè in vain exhorting her adherents still to persevere in resistance, rather than submit to the murderer of their long admired general.

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XIV.Spirit of
his wife
Laodicee.

Antiochus having thus punished the revolt in Lesser Asia, with as signal vengeance as he had formerly inflicted on that of Media, thought himself destined to extinguish rebellion in every part of the empire. For upwards of thirty years the Parthians and Bactrians had refused tribute and disavowed allegiance. The former of these countries was now governed by Arsaces III. the latter by Euthydemus, also the third Greek king of Bactria, and who, by fortunate enterprise, had risen to that throne from the condition of a humble citizen of Ionian Magnesia⁴⁴. With a well appointed army, Antiochus marched into those outlying countries; traversed, as conqueror, Parthia with its maritime appendage of Hyrcania, and granted peace to Arsaces, only on condition that he followed his standard against the more formidable Euthydemus. This prince, to remove the war from his own country, encountered Antiochus in the contiguous province of Aria: a great battle ensued, in which the Syrian king signalized his personal prowess, and obtained a glorious victory, after his horse had been killed under him, and his teeth had been dashed out by a painful wound in the mouth. Previously to the action, he had deceived the enemy by passing the river Arius in the night, when its banks were unguarded; and in the battle itself, he had sustained with firmness the repeated charges of new bodies of cavalry continually succeeding to each other: a mode of warfare which,

Antiochus' successful expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. Olymp. exli. 3. cxliv. 1. B. C. 214—204.

⁴⁴ Polybius, l. xi. c. 34. Conf. Bayer Histor. Regn. Bactrian.

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the Bactrians should seem to have adopted from their neighbours the Scythians.

Peace with
Euthyde-
mus king of
Bactria.

Euthydemus retreated precipitately to his capital Bactra⁴⁵, and thence despatched an ambassador to Antiochus, to propose terms of accommodation. Among other arguments employed to stop the progress of the conqueror, Euthydemus observed, that he himself had never revolted from the Syrian monarchy, but, on the contrary, had mounted the throne of Bactria by punishing the descendent of a rebel. To this remark he added, that vast swarms of Scythians were actually hovering on his northern frontier; and that, if Bactria was weakened by a civil war among Greeks, not only that country, but the more central provinces of Asia, might be desolated and barbarized by those formidable Nomades. Antiochus felt the weight of this latter argument; and when Euthydemus sent his son Demetrius to adjust terms between them, he was so much delighted with the behaviour and conversation of the young Bactrian, that he promised to give him one of his own daughters in marriage, consenting, at the same time, that his father should continue to maintain the name and state of independent royalty⁴⁶.

Renews
the treaty
with the
Indian
Sophagesi-
mus.

Antiochus remained thenceforward above seven years in Upper Asia, in which time he governed ably the valuable countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. On the banks of the latter he renewed his friendship with the Indian Sophagesimus, and returned from his eastern expedition to Seleucia Babylonia with vast treasures, and with one hundred and fifty elephants⁴⁷. Shortly afterwards, we find him below the mouth of the Euphrates, rescuing the commercial city Gerra⁴⁸, on the Persian gulph, from the grasp of Arabian robbers. In return for this favour, he was rewarded by the Gerræans with a profusion of spices and perfumes, as well as with large contributions in gold and silver, all of

Rescues
Gerra from
the Arabi-
ans.

⁴⁵ Polybius, l. x. c. 46, says Zariaspa, another name for the same place.

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. x. c. 48, et seq.

⁴⁷ Id. l. xi. c. 54.

⁴⁸ He confirmed the *ἐλευθερία*, national independence, of Gerra. Polyb. l. xiii. c. 9.

which, as we have seen, were the usual articles of traffic in that wealthy emporium ⁴⁹.

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In the same year that Antiochus, after a long and glorious absence, revisited his capital on the Orontes, he was delivered from all danger on the side of Egypt by the death of Philopater, whose debaucheries brought him to the grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. That slothful tyrant had, contrary to the expectations of his subjects, defeated Antiochus in the decisive battle of Raphia, and thereby gained possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine. He remained in these provinces three months after the battle, and was received by the inhabitants of the country, as well as by every city into which he entered, with the adulation offered by the multitude to conquerors undeserving to live, and which, in intermediate territories, often fluctuating between two great rival kingdoms, was not checked by any remains of allegiance to their former master. His transactions at Jerusalem have been alone thought worthy of record ⁵⁰. Ptolemy surveyed the antique grandeur of the city, offered oblations to Jehovah, and dedicated valuable presents in his temple. But not contented with viewing that edifice from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was permitted to pass, he desired to proceed through the holy house, into the most holy sanctuary, where none of the Jews themselves could lawfully enter, except the high priest alone, and even that sacred magistrate but once only in the year, on the great day of expiation. The king was informed of the unsurmountable objection to the gratification of his curiosity. But though the priests, in their solemn array, and august vestments, intreated him to desist from a purpose not allowable even in the ministers of the temple, he answered roughly, that *his* authority was not to be controlled by *their* laws ⁵¹.

⁴⁹ See above, vol. i. p. 173.

⁵⁰ They are related in III Maccabees throughout, and in Ruffinus' Latin edition of Josephus, l. ii. Cont. Apion, in which, however, the name

of Ptolemy Physcon is by mistake substituted for that of Ptolemy Philopater.

⁵¹ Εἰς ἁγίον ἐσθνηταὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸν τιμὴν, ἐκεῖ δὲ δει. Maccab.

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His at-
tempt to
enter the
sanctuary
frustrated.

The whole city was in commotion. While the high priest Simon prayed to Jehovah to defend his own sanctuary, to Jehovah who, inhabiting the highest heavens, into which no mortal could ascend, had yet consecrated a chosen spot for the monument of his glory and worship, a promiscuous multitude, of every age and either sex, filled the air with such loud and lamentable wailings, that it seemed as if not only human voices, but the walls and streets from their foundation had deprecated the frantic impiety of the king. His purpose was unalterable; but as he pressed from the inner court to the sanctuary, he was shaken "like a reed by the wind, and fell speechless on the ground." We have seen, on a former occasion, that with the most beastly profligacy, he united the most abject superstition; and it is unnecessary to inquire, whether his body was agitated by external force, or whether the Almighty shook him more dreadfully from within, by the guilty terrors of his mind. He was carried from the temple half dead by his bodyguards; and, upon his recovery, made haste to leave Jerusalem.

His rage
vents itself
in cruelty
towards
the Jews in
Alexan-
dria.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
B. C. 216.

At his return to Alexandria, he carried with him his resentment against the Jews, who were more numerous in that capital than even in Jerusalem itself, and who had long enjoyed in Egypt all the privileges of those Greeks and Macedonians who formed the first class of citizens or subjects⁵². Ptolemy published a decree degrading them from this rank, and ordering them to be enrolled among the lowest casts of Egyptians. As an additional insult, they were to be stigmatized in their bodies by the figure of an ivy leaf, in honour of the god Bacchus⁵³; and none who refused compliance with the established rites of paganism, were allowed access to the gates of the palace, which, as the judges commonly sat there, amounted to a sentence of outlawry against the whole nation. Notwithstanding these cruel and disgraceful penalties, scarcely three hundred Jews apostatized from their religion; and

⁵² Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf.
Strabo, l. xvi. p. 797.

⁵³ II. Maccab, c. vi. v. 7.

those who had the meanness to embrace that measure for the sake of wordly advantages, met with ineffable disdain from their brethren. This contempt of his authority provoked Ptolemy to madness. The Jews were dragged as the worst of criminals from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, and many thousands were shut up in the hippodrome of that city, to be destroyed for public sport by elephants rendered furious with frankincense and wine. The horrid show was twice adjourned, because Ptolemy in consequence of his drunken carousals, happened to outsleep the times appointed; and on the third day the intoxicated elephants, instead of attacking the Jewish victims, turned their chief rage against the Egyptian spectators. This unexpected catastrophe, accompanied with other extraordinary⁵⁴ circumstances, again overwhelmed Ptolemy with religious terror; he rescinded his odious decree, and revoked his execrable orders: the Jews, faithful to their law, were reinstated in all their privileges; and in the true spirit of capricious despotism, Ptolemy made atonement for his cruelty to themselves by the more cruel permission of retaliating it on their apostate brethren⁵⁵.

Tame as the Egyptians always were, and as the Greeks and Macedonians had recently become, it was not to be expected that they should continue to pay implicit submission to such an execrable tyrant. To oppose Antiochus in the great battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had armed a larger portion of the Egyptians than were usually admitted into the service. This circumstance, inspiring them with more than ordinary courage, occasioned a civil war, the particulars of which are not described in history, nor is the loss to be regretted, since it produced not any memorable exertions either of skill or valour, being distinguished only by disgusting enormities perpetrated by the contending parties. While it lasted Egypt must

Civil war
in Egypt.

⁵⁴ Angels descended, *ἐπεσπασμένοι*,
“of frightful forms,” visible to all
but the Jews. III. Maccab. p. 892.

Edit. Francofurt.

⁵⁵ III. Maccab. c. iii. v. 4, 5.

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Abilities
and crimes
of the mi-
nister Sosi-
bius.

The abo-
minable
Agathocle-
an family.
—Their
proceed-
ings on the
death of
Philopater.
Olymp.
exliv. 1.
B. C. 204.

have indeed been the scene of bloodshed, if, of the Jewish inhabitants only, forty thousand perished in the contest⁵⁶.

Ptolemy prevailed over the insurgents through the relative superiority of his generals, and the real abilities of his minister Sosibius, a man grown old in government, and unprincipled as he was, an indispensably useful instrument under such a tyrannical reign⁵⁷. He was fertile in expedients, of great presence of mind, had boldness to adopt vigorous measures, and penetration to discern energetic agents. What Ptolemy most admired in his minister was his cruel dexterity in removing secretly, by the cup or the dagger, all those whom it would have been dangerous openly to destroy. In this number was the highminded Arsinoë, Philopater's queen and sister, who, while her husband wallowed in the lowest sensuality, still sustained with dignity the honours of her rank and birth. Her murder, which Sosibius effected through the agency of his creature Philammon⁵⁸, destroyed the last restraint on the headstrong profligacy of the king.

The abominable Agathoclean family, contrivers or instruments of every pollution, governed him absolutely; and at the time of his obscure death⁵⁹, held the wealth and strength of Egypt so firmly in their hands, that unawed by Sosibius, now loaded with years and the weight of his crimes, Agathocles assumed the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and with that the government of the kingdom. When he had confirmed his usurpation by donatives to the soldiers, and by the murder⁶⁰ of all those who were likely to dispute his authority, he promoted to the first employments of the state and army, servile mercenaries and low mechanics, most of them men debased still

⁵⁶ Eusebius in Chronic. p. 185.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. xv. c. 25.

⁵⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 33.

⁵⁹ His death was long concealed by those who managed affairs under him, (Justin, l. xxx. c. 2.), so that the date of it is a matter of dispute with chronologers. Vaillant. Hist. Ptolem. p. 68.

⁶⁰ As Sosibius disappears at this

time, it may be conjectured that his old age did not protect him against Agathocles' jealousy. This conjecture is corroborated by the particular mention of Sosibius and his villanies in the same chapter of Polybius, in which we are told that Agathocles destroyed all his rivals. Polyb. l. xv. c. 25.

more by vileness of mind, than meanness of condition. At the head of such a court, Agathocles gave loose reins to the most shameless intemperance, and to enormities, if possible, more flagitious than those by which his late master had provoked a civil war. The Alexandrians murmured, communicated their complaints, and secretly corresponded with the military commanders in the provinces, intreating them to march to their assistance against an usurper, who trusting to the protection of the city guards, seduced by his largesses, raged with unbridled fury against the inhabitants of the capital.

Tlepolemus, a general of abilities and enterprise, under-^{Conspiracy} took their defence. By means of the posts which he occupied ^{against} in the inland country, he was enabled to intercept the ordinary supplies of corn and other necessaries, which were wafted down the Nile to feed a profuse court, a numerous garrison, and a city long crowded with inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. The correspondence between the Alexandrians and Tlepolemus escaped the notice of Agathocles and his agents, until the different bodies of troops stationed in the capital began to be infected with sedition. Their rapacity had much lowered his treasury; from the vicinity of their encampments to the dwellings of the citizens, they enjoyed a free communication with the latter, and were moved by their unceasing complaints; compassion gaining easier access to their mercenary minds as cruelty grew less profitable.

The tyrant, alarmed by his danger, had recourse to those ^{Agathocles' artifices to re-} called the royal guards, a body of six thousand men, holding the first rank in the Egyptian service. He proceeded to their camp, bringing with him Agathoclea and Ptolemy a child ^{gain his credit with the soldiers.} five⁰¹ years old, whom he showed to the soldiers, and whose fate he bewailed in a strain of dramatic lamentation too artful to be affecting. When he had mounted a tribunal, and ^{Agathocles' artifices to re-} held the young prince in his arms, "Him," he said, "the descendant of your ancient kings, his father at the hour of

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Treated by
them with
scorn.

death placed in the hands of her, (pointing to Agathoclea), who is altogether unable to ward off the unforeseen danger; you only Macedonians can defend him, and confirm in his throne this rightful heir, ready to be assailed by disloyal ambition⁶²." He then produced witnesses to prove that Tlepolemus had taken measures for usurping the crown. But the soldiers, instead of regarding his proofs, or the tears which he shed in abundance, treated him with scorn. He met with a similar reception from the other bodies of the city troops, to which he successively applied; many soldiers meanwhile arriving by the Nile from the distant nomes or provinces, and reinforcing the malecontents, now impelled to immediate action, by the consideration that Tlepolemus by commanding the river, could intercept the ordinary convoys of provisions to Alexandria.

Incidents
which pre-
cipitate his
destruction.

In this posture of affairs, the instruments of the tyrant, upon some secret accusation, seized Danaë, mother-in-law to Tlepolemus, as she returned from making her supplications in the temple of Ceres, and dragged her unveiled through the streets to prison. This most unseasonable outrage still farther exasperated the Alexandrians. In the night, writings upbraiding Agathocles were stuck up in every part of the city; and public meetings were held in the daytime, to declare the universal indignation against his government. The trembling usurper had not made preparations for flight; he had not spirit for any great enterprise, nor courage to seek death at the head of his remaining partisans. Meanwhile Mæragenes, one of his lifeguards, was accused of treacherously corresponding with Tlepolemus. He was committed for examination to Nicostratus, the tyrant's secretary; who upon his refusal to confess, ordered the executioners to prepare their instruments of torture. The culprit was already stripped, the scourges were already raised to lacerate his body; a sad prelude to more direful sufferings. At that moment, an attendant entered the apartment, whispered Nicos-tratus in the ear, and hastily withdrew. Nicostratus followed.

⁶² Polybius, l. xv. c. 26.

as quickly, without speaking a word, but smiting continually his thigh in token of inward anguish. The cause of his distress is not explained: there was enough of bad news to be communicated. The executioners stood motionless expecting his return; but after long waiting for him in vain, dropped away one after the other. Mœragenes was thus left naked and alone in a remote apartment of the palace. He betook himself to flight through such galleries as he fortunately found open, and was so happy as to reach in safety the nearest tents of his Macedonian countrymen. The soldiers were assembled at their forenoon's repast, when the arrival of Mœragenes, the strange plight in which he came, his frightful danger, and surprising escape, determined them to seize the present moment for destroying Agathocles and his family. They proceeded to the encampments of the other Macedonians, and then to the tents of other troops, which were all nearly contiguous to each other in the same quarter of the city.

When Agathocles learned these proceedings, and still farther, that Tlepolemus was on his way to join the insurgents, he behaved like a man altogether bereaved of understanding. As if nothing extraordinary had happened, he retired calmly to supper, and indulged in his habitual intemperance. But his mother, Oenanthe, repaired to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was then open for the celebration of the Thesmophorean festival, an august commemoration of the benefits conferred by those goddesses, in the introduction of agriculture and the institutions of settled and civilized life. While with piteous wailings, and in a dejected posture, she invoked Heaven to avert the evils that threatened her, and which her complicated wickedness had most justly deserved, the assembled matrons of Alexandria enjoyed her fearful humiliation; a few only vouchsafed some broken expressions of pity, and drew near to learn more clearly the cause of her affliction. But Oenanthe with the voice and sentiments congenial to her depraved character and infamous life, cried

Behaviour
of Agatho-
cles and his
mother
Oenanthe.

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out, "approach me not, wild beasts! I know your hatred to me and mine: you are praying the gods to inflict on us the worst of sufferings; but I hope, with Heaven's help! to make you devour your own children." With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them to a distance. The women retired, holding up their hands in amazement!

Tumult in
Alexan-
dria, the
young king
seized by
the insur-
gents.

In every family, indignation now redoubled against the public enemies. As darkness came on, the whole city was filled with tumult, men running in opposite directions with lights in their hands, and many flying in darkness to places of concealment. A mixed multitude crowded the stadium and hippodrome, the broad avenues leading to the theatre of Bacchus, above all, the spacious courts surrounding the palace. Agathocles was roused by the uproar from the stupor of his debauch; he flew to the young king, and taking him by the hand conducted him to a covered gallery⁶³, which joined the gymnasium to the royal garden, called the Mæander from its intricate walks and winding porticoes. In this subterranean passage, the fugitives were joined by the family and principal friends of Agathocles, all, except Philon, one of the most profligate of the number. They passed two latticed doors, strongly secured by iron bolts. All night long, they remained in this concealment, when the insurgents were heard in the morning demanding the person of their king. Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, then attended Agathocles as one of his most devoted partisans, and most assiduous flatterers. This man alone, who afterwards governed Egypt with probity and dignity, ventured to pass through a wicket, with a view to appease the multitude. He was empowered to offer, on the part of Agathocles, the surrender of office, rank, wealth; in a word, every thing to save his life. Aristomenes with difficulty defended his own, and was sent back by the enraged multitude with orders to bring with him young Ptolemy. Upon the return of Aristomenes, and when

⁶³ The Syringe. Polyb. l. xv. c. 30.

the first door was burst open, Agathocles extended through the lattice of the second, his hands in an imploring attitude, while Agathoclea supplicated compassion by her breasts which she said had been the source of life to their sovereign. But nothing could appease the public fury until the production of young Ptolemy, who was seized by the insurgents, conveyed on horseback to the stadium, and placed in the seat there appropriated during public shows to the king. Sosibius, son to the late minister, observing, that the child was frightened at the noise and the unknown persons with whom he was surrounded, asked him, whether he abandoned to just punishment those who had been enemies to himself, his family, and his country. The child nodded assent; and Sosibius with general approbation then conveyed him to his own house, which was in that neighbourhood; while a body of armed men returned to the palace to drag from thence the whole Agathoclean family, with their now despairing adherents.

Before they were brought to the stadium, Philon, already mentioned, first appeared there, still under the influence of his debauch of the preceding day. His drunken insolence subjected him to a sudden death. The same swift destruction fell on Agathocles himself, who was no sooner brought bound into the stadium, than he was despatched by the hasty anger of his enemies, thus disappointing their own sterner purposes of long torturing vengeance. The females of his family were carried naked on horseback through the streets; and torn in pieces by the multitude. The house of Philammon, who had been the instrument in murdering Arsinoë, was broken open, and himself, together with his wife and children, destroyed with unrelenting fury by those who had been the female companions of that highminded princess: for the popular insurrections in Egypt and in Carthage are said to have been distinguished in the following particular from those of Greece and Rome, that boys and women had the indecency to mingle in them openly with men, and thereby to inflame their rage, and exasperate their violence⁶⁴.

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⁶⁴ Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.

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Reflection
thereon.

The death of Ptolemy Philopater was thus followed by funeral games, worthy of such a prince, and descriptive of manners so infamous, and persons so contemptible, that nothing but their abuse of supreme power in a great kingdom could entitle them to a moment's regard. Agathocles, indeed, was the mere child of fortune, and ruined by the same odious vices through which he had risen to greatness under a profligate master. Both his exaltation and depression were thus occasioned by accidental and vulgar circumstances; they flowed not from inherent peculiarities in his own nature, like those of his execrable namesake the bloody tyrant of Sicily; whose destinies, frightful as they were, originating solely in his own tremendous energies, are thereby better calculated to excite interest in history. After the removal of Agathocles, the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and by consequence the government of Egypt, fell successively into the hands of Sosibius, of Tlepolemus, and Aristomenes⁶⁵. Of the two first, the administration was short and unimportant; but we shall be called in the course of this history, to commemorate the rare merits of Aristomenes.

Arts and
letters un-
der the
reign of
Philopater.

Notwithstanding the follies and the vices of Ptolemy Philopater, arts and sciences had taken such a firm root in Alexandria, that it would have been impossible for that profligate prince to destroy them. But Philopater, detestable as his own character was, inherited from his ancestors a passion for letters and philosophy. He is said to have delighted in the conversation of Sphærus the Stoic⁶⁶; and all the four ancient sects continued to flourish during his reign; as well as the four new schools, of criticism, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. Philopater dedicated a temple to Homer, adorned with the statue of that divine poet⁶⁷. The poets of his own age attained not celebrity. Rhianus⁶⁸ treated an interesting subject, the ancient Messenian wars. Euphorion of Chalcis,

⁶⁵ Polybius, Conf. l. xvi. c. 22. &
l. xv. c. 31.

⁶⁶ Diogen. Laert. l. vii. s. 185.

⁶⁷ Ælian Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 22.

⁶⁸ Pausanias Messenic.

a voluminous writer in heroic verse⁶⁹, became librarian to Antiochus III., Philopater's rival and enemy. The historians Phylarchus and Chrysippus flourished in the same age⁷⁰: we know not the merit of their matter, but their style, particularly that of the former⁷¹, was disgraced by those inelegancies and distortions which deformed the works of Hegesias, Durus, and other historians of whom we have before spoken. Aristophanes, the scholar of Eratosthenes, distinguished himself in the walks of philology, and criticism; and as a mechanic, Heron, who lived down to this reign, has left works⁷² that may be still read with profit. But, in the time of Philopater, the most useful knowledge was often strangely misapplied. This is illustrated in his farfamed galley of forty tier of oars, surpassing in magnitude all moving castles before or after it. Since the enlargement of the rate of war ships under Alexander's first successors, the Greek kings of the East were no longer contented with quadriremes and quinqueremes, the rates most serviceable in battle, but vied with each other in constructing vessels of a stupendous magnitude, which answered no other purpose but that of gratifying a vanity alike idle and expensive. Philopater's quadragintareme measured 420 feet in length, and 72 in height to the loftiest ornaments of the stern⁷³, far exceeding in dimensions a modern ship of the largest size carrying one hundred and twenty cannons. This unwieldy machine was impelled by 4,000 rowers, steered and manœuvred by 400 sailors, and its batteries were manned by 3,000 marines. The same prince built a vessel 330 feet long, but of the disproportionate breadth of 45 feet, because designed chiefly for the navigation of the Nile. It was named Thalamegus⁷⁴, as containing the haram, or

⁶⁹ Suidas ad Voc.⁷⁰ Scholiast in Apollon. l. iv.⁷¹ Dionys. Halicarn. de Compositione Verbor.⁷² Hero, jum. de machin. bell.

Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. et Fabricius, l. iii. c. 24.

⁷³ Vid. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203, et seq. The breadth is not given.⁷⁴ Id. ibid.

CHAP. XIV. women's apartment, with most other luxuries of a royal palace. Such also were the accommodations of the moving fortress, which will be described hereafter, constructed by Hieron of Syracuse, and which is said to have actually sailed from that city to Alexandria⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Athenæus, l. v. p. 209.

CHAPTER XV.

State of Greece and Macedon at the Accession of Philip IV. Outrageous Proceedings of the Etolians. The Social War. Achæans negotiate with Philip. Cynætha in Arcadia; its brutishness. Philip's successful Operations; is recalled to Macedon by an Irruption of the Dardanians. His Winter Campaign in Peloponnesus. Guilty Intrigues of his Ministers. He invades Etolia. Desolation of Thermum, and Inscription on its Ruins. Disgrace of the Minister Apelles, and Destruction of his Accomplices. State of the Belligerent Powers. News of Hannibal's great Victories in Italy. End of the Social War. Prophetic speech of Agelaus. Highmindedness of the Peloponnesians. Meanness of the Athenians. Depravity of the Bœotians.

HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, related those transactions in Syria and Egypt which prepared the way for a long series of Roman triumphs, I proceed, according to the method prescribed, to those contemporary events in Macedon and Greece, which strongly cooperated towards the same end. Under the prudent administration of Antigonus Doson, Macedon maintained a high ascendancy in Greece, without affecting sovereignty. Antigonus restrained and punished the dangerous rapacity of the Etolians; he defeated the proud and preposterous hopes of Sparta, but spared that city and its inhabitants; he was a steady friend to the Achæans and Acarnanians, because these nations were ever friendly to the maxims of moderation and justice. The greater part of Thessaly had remained long subject to Macedon. The Bœotians, Phocians, and Epirots were submissive allies to the same kingdom; and, by his well garrisoned strong-holds of Corinth and Orchomenus, Antigonus was enabled seasonably and effectually to interpose in maintaining the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. All these advantages descended to his

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State of
Greece and
Macedon
at the ac-
cession of
Philip IV.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

CHAP. XV. successor Philip IV. together with unusual security on his northern frontier, and the hereditary friendship of Aratus, the virtuous and able pretor of the Achæan confederacy.

The Etolians, their character and views.

Their possessions and allies.

In this prosperous condition of Greece and Macedon, the public tranquillity was first disturbed by the Etolians, who contemned the youth of Philip, and saw but little to apprehend from those ministers whom Antigonus had appointed to guide his councils¹. The maxims of the Etolians were different from those of the other states which had formerly been the prime movers in all wars and negotiations. The Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans had successively fought for pre-eminence; and when this object was defeated, through the preponderancy of Macedonian power, they were ready to lay down their arms. But the Etolians, careless of glory, were principally intent on plunder. Instead of the transient emotions of ambition, they were actuated by the permanent impulse of avarice; and with them, a good ground for war was never wanting, when depredations might be committed with impunity². The death of Antigonus Doson seemed highly propitious to their views. Notwithstanding the coercion of their encroachments by that able prince, they still possessed several strong-holds in distant parts of Greece, which favoured their piracy by sea, as well as their robbery by land. They were masters of Ambracus, on the Ambracian gulph; of Palæ, in the island of Cephallenia; of the strong cities of Thebes and Echinus, both on the coast of Phthiotis. Their inland garrisons occupied Melitæa, and some smaller posts on the mountainous skirts of Thessaly. In this manner their scattered usurpations in the north, extended between the Ægæan and Ionian seas³; while on the side of Peloponnesus, they flattered themselves with the goodwill of the Elians and Spartans, inveterate enemies to the Achæan league, and had garrisoned⁴ Phigalia, a city twelve miles from the sea, near the northern frontier of Messenia, the only

¹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 2.

² Id. l. ii. c. 45. & seq.

³ Id. l. iii. & iv. passim.

⁴ Id. l. iv. c. 3.

district in the Peninsula which had escaped depredation in the Cleomenic war. CHAP.
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Conformably with the maxims of his nation, Dorimachus, a young Etolian of boiling courage, proceeded to Phigalia, and was speedily resorted to there, by a band of pirates. Although the general peace, which Antigonus had established throughout Greece, still subsisted in full force, the Etolians encouraged his pirates to carry off the herds of the Messenians from the seacoast, and afterwards to penetrate into the very center of the country, and to commit depredations, chiefly in the night time, on the farms and villages. When repeated remonstrances against these proceedings were brought to Phigalia, the robber declared that he would come to Messenè itself, and there in person do justice to the injured. He was descended from a family preeminent, even among the Etolians, for deeds of rash and unprincipled audacity. Not to degenerate from his ancestors, he appeared at Messene; and instead of making the reparation expected, treated those who urged their wrongs with the utmost indignity; deriding some, threatening others, and denying justice to all. While he still remained in Messene, the pirates advanced within a small distance of its walls, assaulted in the night a village called the farm of Chiron, killed those who opposed their violence, and after binding the remainder, carried promiscuously slaves and cattle aboard their fleet. Nothing can more strongly attest the awe in which the peaceful Messenians then stood of the fierce Etolians, than their forbearance to take summary vengeance on Dorimachus, the author of this enormity. He was cited to appear before a council, composed of the principal members of the government. On this occasion, Sciron, one of the Ephori, advised that Dorimachus should not be allowed to leave the city, until the murderers were surrendered to justice. The other magistrates having assented to this opinion, Dorimachus upbraided their folly, in thinking to make him prisoner without

Dorimachus the Etolian, his audacious proceedings in Messenia. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

His insolence abashed by Sciron, one of the Messenian Ephori.

^a Id. *ibid.* c. 4, & seq.

^b Συμπερχία. Polyb. l. iv. c. 4.

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provoking the vengeance of Etolia. This threat piqued Sciron, a man of no less spirit than probity, to whom the following circumstance afforded an opportunity of abashing the haughty robber. There lived in Messene an infamous youth, so like in face and person to Dorimachus, that they might easily have been mistaken for each other; and, with this circumstance, the Etolian was well acquainted. Babyrtas was the name of the wretched Messenian, stigmatized for every vice most disgraceful to a man. In reply to Dorimachus, who had spoken with much vehemence, Sciron therefore asked, in a firm tone, "Do you think that we shall mind you, or your threats, Babyrtas?" The application of this single name covered Dorimachus with confusion⁷. He consented that restitution should be made, and that the guilty should be punished; but, being allowed shortly afterwards to return to Etolia, excited what is called the Social War, which lasted three years.

Com-
mence-
ment of
the social
war.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Ariston at that time was pretor of the Etolians, who, on account of bodily infirmity, committed the military department of his office to his kinsman Scopas, a man also related to Dorimachus, and of a similar character. As two such persons readily concurred in the same rash views, and their most audacious measures were sure of meeting with approbation from the Etolian multitude, they did not wait for a decree of the assembly, or the authority of the senate⁸. In defiance of forms, sanctioned by law and long usage, they at once made war on the Messenians, as well as on those nations most likely to espouse the cause of the injured. Their pirates issued from Cephallenia, and ravaged the coasts of Epirus; another band assaulted, but without effect, Thyreum in Acarnania; beyond the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, a rich merchant vessel belonging to Macedon was captured off the island Cythera, and carried into a harbour of Etolia, where the ship, with all persons on board her, was

⁷ Id. *ibid.*

public measures. Conf. Polyb. l. xi.

⁸ *Ἀποκλητοί*. A select body whose concurrence was necessary in all c. 1, & l. xxi. c. 3.

sold at public auction. By land, the proceedings of the Etolians were equally unwarrantable; particularly in surprising Clarium, a strong-hold on the Arcadian frontier, which they purposed to render a depository for the spoil collected from the adjacent province of Messenia. But in this design they were defeated by Taurion, commander of the Macedonian garrison in Orchomenus, assisted by Timoxenus, then pretor of Achaia. Having united their forces, these generals marched hastily to Clarium, and, in the course of a few days, recovered that fortress.

The time now approached when Timoxenus, on the eleventh of May, was to lay down his office, and to make room for the fifteenth pretorship of Aratus, in the course of thirty years.¹⁰ The Etolians, in order to anticipate this change, which seemed little favourable to their views, assembled a great army at Rhium, a promontory and harbour of Etolia, scarcely two miles distant from Antirhium, in Achaia. Having transported their forces across the narrow frith, they proceeded through the districts of Patræ and Tritæa; their generals, Dorimachus and Scopas, though they affected unwillingness to offend the Acæhan league, being at little pains to restrain the depredations of their followers. In this manner they marched through Achaia to the friendly province of Elis, and from thence to their strong-hold Phigalia, from which they began to plunder unmercifully the best possessions of the Messenians. The Achæans had by this time convened in their vernal assembly. They were indignant at the wrongs done by the Etolians to some of the oldest members of their league; they compassionated the sufferings of the Messenians, though that people were neither united with them in government, nor parties to the confederacy subsisting between Achaia and Macedon, comprehending most other Grecian commonwealths. But Timoxenus, the actual pretor, was a man of little enterprise: he knew that his countrymen, trusting to the stability of the last peace in Pelopon-

Aratus,
upon the
resignation
of Timo-
xenus,
takes the
field
against
them.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Arat.

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nessus, had neglected their arms and exercises. He declined therefore to lead the Achæans into the field, but readily resigned his office, five days before its appointed term, to the zeal and spirit of Aratus¹¹.

Battle of
Caphyæ, in
Arcadia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

This illustrious patriot summoned the Achæans, through all their cities, to meet him in arms at Megalopolis, fifteen miles distant from Phigalia, the principal rendezvous of the enemy. When the army was fully assembled, not excepting the Lacedæmonians who had marched as declared friends to a confederacy which they secretly abhorred, Aratus sent heralds to the Etolians, commanding them immediately to quit Messenia, and to be careful, in their return homeward, not to enter Achaia. Upon receiving this message from a man commanding an army more numerous than their own, Dorimachus and Scopas prepared to comply with it. They ordered their transports to rendezvous at the island and harbour of Phlias, on the coast of Elis, and two days afterwards began to march thither. Aratus, upon assurances of this intention, dismissed the greater part of his army, and with a body of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, besides the Macedonians under Taurion, followed at some distance the retiring enemy¹². When the Etolians discovered that their motions were watched, but by a force inferior to their own, they suddenly faced about, and returning towards the Achæans, found them encamped in the plain of Caphyæ, defended by a river in front, and also by several deep trenches. Not daring to attack this post, especially as the enemy showed great willingness to engage, they hastened across the plain to the adjacent heights; and the cavalry, which closed their march, had nearly reached the hill called Propus, when the Achæan pretor sent against them his light infantry and horse. Although this detachment began to skirmish with the rear, the Etolian cavalry still retired in good order, to gain the support of its infantry. Aratus mistaking this movement for

The Achæ-
ans de-
feated.

¹¹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 6. ¹² Plutarch in Arato. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 11 & seq.

flight, ordered his heavy armed troops to join in the pursuit. Before the first division of them approached the foot of the mountains, the Etolians had rallied in great force, and totally defeated the Achæan targeteers and cavalry. The heavy troops that came to their assistance, perplexed at the unexpected disaster, and being themselves in the loose order of march, also turned their backs, and were carried along with the fugitives; from whence it happened, that although five hundred Achæans only had engaged the enemy, those that now fled exceeded two thousand. Their flight would have been less dishonourable than salutary, had they found the main division, headed by Aratus in person, on the advantageous ground which it had originally occupied; but, as this division hastened towards them in a long and broken train, the evil was without remedy, and the rout became general. The neighbouring cities, particularly Caphyæ and Orchomenus, opened their friendly gates, otherwise the whole Achæan army must have perished disgracefully. The Etolians, elated with success, marched towards the Corinthian gulph, plundering the district of Sicyon and other Achæan dependencies in their way, and then hastened to their own country, loaded with booty, and with the weight of crimes not likely to pass unrevenge. Meanwhile the Achæans assembled in council at Ægium. Their country had been twice invaded by a merciless enemy; but postponing the consideration of such injuries, the assembly resounded with complaints against the misconduct of Aratus. His enemies in the government accused him of bringing on a battle unnecessarily, and of fighting it unskilfully. Through what unaccountable folly could he break up his army, while the Etolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus? Was it for this, that he had wrested the pretorship from Timoxenus five days before its legal expiration? He had been twice deluded by a most ordinary stratagem: first, when the Etolians made a pretence of retreating homewards; only that they might surprise his disbanded force; se-

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Aratus accused of misconduct.

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condly, when in the action itself they affected to fly, only to return more vigorously to the charge. If, in opposition to all rules of prudence, he had determined to come to battle, he ought at least to have fought it on the plain; there the heavy armed Achæans would have availed themselves of their military arrangements and their weapons. On the mountains, the Etolians found every thing best adapted to their arms, their tactics, and habits of warfare.

His defence.

These accusations, just as they were, did not discourage Aratus from making an animated defence. Having described his unwearied exertions in the service of the Achæan league, he maintained that his actions ought to be examined with indulgent candour, not with sharpness and severity. Faults in conduct he did not deny, nor would he attempt to palliate them; but his principles were sound, and his intentions pure. The multitude changed from anger against him to the highest favour; testifying much resentment at his accusers, and submitting in future all their affairs to his management¹³.

Embassies
of the
Achæans
to their
confederates.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B C. 221.

A decree passed the council for assembling the Achæans in arms, and for summoning the aid of their allies. Ambassadors were despatched to the Phocians, Acarnanians, Boeotians, Epirots, above all, to king Philip, stating the outrages of the Etolians, and requesting that the Messenians, who had so dreadfully suffered by them, might be admitted into the general confederacy¹⁴. In Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians agreed to furnish-respectively a body of two thousand five hundred men; but instead of fulfilling this promise, the former people sent privately to make a treaty with the Etolians. Notwithstanding the flight of Cleomenes to Egypt, his partisans were all-powerful in Sparta; they had prevented the substitution of any new king in his stead, vainly expecting his return; and, in the mean time, the republic was governed by annual magistrates, deeply infected with the wild projects of Cleomenes, and inveterately hostile to Achaia and Macedon, by which powers,

¹³ Plutarch, *ibid.* & Polyb. l. iv. c. 14.

¹⁴ *Id.* l. iv. c. 15, & c. 26.

chiefly, his dangerous views had been defeated¹⁵. In the north of Greece, the motions of the confederates depended on those of Philip. The Thessalians were his subjects; the Epirots, since the extinction of the line of their renowned Pyrrhus, formed an inconsiderable and subservient republic; the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians, had, all of them, been long accustomed to fear the Macedonians, and in the late reign to love and respect them. Under these circumstances, decisive measures on the part of Macedon might have restored public tranquillity. But Philip was only in his eighteenth year: his ministers, as will appear hereafter, were weak, perfidious, and at variance with each other, while such neighbours as the Thracians and Illyrians always appeared formidable to a new king of Macedon. Philip, therefore, though he agreed to admit the Messenians into the confederacy, yet hesitated about declaring war against the Etolians. It was usual with that people to commit unprovoked injuries, to break through all laws, to violate all engagements. In them, such proceedings, being matters of course, excited no surprise, and occasioned slight resentment; so true it is, that men are in all things guided by custom, and therefore more willing to overlook long continued and uniform habits of wickedness, than to pardon any new and unexpected act of injustice¹⁶.

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Considerations which made Macedon reluctant in declaring war.

While the confederates still deliberated with little unanimity, the Etolians were already in the field. Having associated with them, through promise of plunder, some Illyrian pirates, they invaded the Peloponnesus, and entered the central province of Arcadia. In the north of that province, Cynætha was the head of a district, the wildest and roughest in the whole mountainous territory¹⁷. It was inhabited by rugged herdsmen, who scorned those arts that had been so successfully employed by their neighbours for taming savageness and polishing rusticity. Of all the Arcadians, the people of

Cynætha in Arcadia—the brutishness of its inhabitants.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Cleomen. & Polybius, l. iv. c. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid. c. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. 16, & seq.

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Their dis-
ensions
and de-
struction.

Cynætha alone disdained the culture of music, which was taught and exercised in Greece, not merely as an agreeable pastime, the soother of care and the sweetener of leisure, but as an art highly contributing towards the refinement of pleasure from voluptuousness, and of valour from ferocity. The brutishness of the Cynæthians made them despise this liberal pursuit; and their neglect of an acquirement, in which the other Arcadians universally took delight, heightened the depravity of their character, and the universal detestation accompanying it. Odious abroad, they were divided into cruel factions at home. One party banished three hundred of their adversaries, and submitted to the protection of the Achæans. The exiles, affecting repentance, solicited permission to return. The party, which had expelled them, referred this request to the Achæan council. The Achæans advised compliance and sincere reconciliation, thinking to excite gratitude in persons so highly benefited. But these unprincipled wretches had no sooner set foot on their native soil, than, as if they had meditated the most abominable treachery in their very act of swearing amity over the sacred victims, they entered into secret practices with the Etolians for betraying to them their city. To this atrocious engagement they were faithful. A portion of them, employed promiscuously with other inhabitants in the nightwatch, assailed suddenly their partners in this service; and having put them to the sword, gave admission to the Etolians, who, according to concert, were at hand. Cynætha was thus taken, and treated most unmercifully; even the Cynæthian traitors being subjected to the same cruelties with their betrayed brethren. After the houses had been carefully ransacked, torture compelled the discovery of treasures yet concealed in them. The Etolians, before leaving Peloponnesus, offered the desolate city to their Elia allies, but as *they* refused the present, Cynætha was set on fire and abandoned to the flames. The neighbouring cities of Lussi and Cleitor were threatened with a similar

fate. The former purchased safety by surrendering some consecrated ornaments in the temple of Diana; and the latter was more honourably protected by the strength of its walls, and the bravery of its citizens. Without completely satiating their rapacity, the Etolians thus returned home by the way of Rhium; for their own coasts were in danger from another party of Illyrian pirates, in the interest of Macedon; and that kingdom was preparing to engage vigorously in the war¹⁸.

Shortly after their departure, Philip arrived at Corinth with a powerful escort. From thence he despatched messengers to all the states in the league, inviting their deputations to concert with him the measures fittest to be pursued at the present juncture. Before the return of his couriers, he was informed that Sparta was torn by sedition. This news made him proceed southwards to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians, favourers to Cleomenes and his wild innovations, fearful that Philip's approach might give courage to their adversaries, had massacred those among them whom they deemed most dangerous. This enormity was speedily followed by other deeds equally atrocious; all of them committed under the pretence of liberty and equality, and terminating as outrageous proceedings in favour of political freedom naturally end, in the establishment of a severe and execrable tyranny, which lasted twenty years under the military usurpers Machanidas and Nabis.

On the present occasion, the party, now master of the government, sent deputies to Philip to vindicate their own innocence, and accuse the persons, who were slain, as authors of the tumult. At the same time they assured the king, that the Lacedæmonians were determined to observe most faithfully the terms of their alliance with him; and that no state whatever surpassed their sincerity, zeal, and complete devotion to his interests and those of the confederacy. When the deputies retired, Philip, who had heard them in council, desired the opinion of his ministers. All agreed that the

Philip
marches
into Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Seditions
in Sparta.

Philip's
moderation
and good
policy in
appeasing
them.

¹⁸ Polybius, *ibid*.

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enormity of the Spartans ought not to pass unpunished: the most moderate were of opinion, that the government should be wrested from the hands of men who had acquired it so unwarrantably: the more violent stimulated Philip to exemplary vengeance, exhorting him to signalize his accession to the throne by the destruction of sanguinary Sparta, as the great Alexander, however humane in his nature, had begun his reign by the demolition of perfidious and incorrigible Thebes. The king spoke last; and, being then only in his eighteenth year, the sentiments which he delivered are ascribed to the suggestion of Aratus. Philip said, "that in the domestic concerns of his allies, he did not think himself entitled to interfere. When great wrongs were committed, he would indeed interpose his advice and admonition with regard to the means best fitted either to redress them, or to prevent their recurrence. Farther than this, he was convinced that he had not any right to go. The case was different, when any of the allies manifestly violated the compact, by which they were all reciprocally bound to each other. But even then, the perverse communities were to be coerced, not by himself individually, but by the confederates in general. That the Lacedæmonians had done nothing against the league, with the terms of which, on the contrary, they had declared their resolution strictly and zealously to comply. That the regulation of their internal government, belonged to themselves only; and that, if he dealt with them rigorously for errors committed on that score, he could not fail to incur the censure of mankind, when they contrasted his behaviour with that of his predecessor, who had treated the same people with the utmost gentleness, after conquering them as enemies in a just war¹⁹." Conformably with these sentiments it was determined that no inquiry should be made concerning the recent transactions in Sparta. Ambassadors were sent however to that city, to administer the federal oath to its new magistrates; and

¹⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 23. & seq.

Philip repaired to Corinth to meet the deputations which he summoned thither, from the different members of the league. CHAP.
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In this convention, there was not a single state that had not injuries to complain of from the lawless and impious Etolians: It was decreed that war should be carried on against that ferocious people, until they relinquished all their possessions, beyond the limits of their own narrow territory, and until all those cities, which, under the name of allies they oppressed as subjects, should be restored to the enjoyment of their ancient laws and hereditary government; and be left untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent. Philip, with that moderation and forbearance, which distinguished all his measures, informed the Etolians by letter of this decree, that they might send deputies to the convention, if they had any thing to allege in extenuation of their offences. The chiefs of the Etolians answered, that they would meet the king at Rhium, and endeavour to give him satisfaction. They thought, that either his fear or his pride would decline the meeting: but this expectation being disappointed, they wrote to him a second time, saying that, as the general assembly of the Etolians had not yet convened, it was not lawful for them to enter into discussions concerning national affairs. Their assembly met soon afterwards in September, for the Etolians held their annual elections at the autumnal equinox. Insensible to their past misconduct, they elected for pretor Scopas, the main coadjutor of Dorimachus in all his late outrages. They had shut their eyes to their own injustice, and foolishly treated the rest of mankind as blind³⁰.

Yet much remained to be done before their wrongs could be retorted. It was necessary that the decree of the convention should be ratified by the assembly of each state in particular. So dreadful was the terror which the Etolians had diffused around them, that none of the confederates wished to be the first in arms. The Messenians, though distinguish-

Convention
of the allies
at Corinth
—fruitless
negotiation
with the
Etolians.

Various
passions
and delays
among the
confede-
rates.

³⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 24. et seq.

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ed by the severity of their sufferings, were overawed by the neighbouring garrison of Phigalia. The Epirots, sadly degenerate from their ancient spirit, declined to march, till Philip was ready to reinforce them. The Acarnanians, though their country was immediately interposed between Epirus and Etolia, showed less reluctance than any other people to take the field, such was the manly sense of honour by which they were actuated; their zeal for liberty, and firmness in alliance²¹. Philip, meanwhile, had returned to Macedon to complete his preparations. The indulgence and good policy which he had shown with regard to Sparta, had given to him many partisans in that city. Though the Etolians sent an agent thither, to renew their secret practices, the Lacedæmonians, in general, were so deeply affected by Philip's moderation, that they determined rather to adhere to their public engagements with Macedon and her allies.

Lycurgus a partisan of the Etolians, usurps the government of Sparta.

But this resolution had scarcely passed, when the baffled party cut off its authors in a new and more bloody sedition; and as accounts of Cleomenes' death just arrived from Egypt, named Lycurgus for his successor, a man who had no fair pretensions to the throne, and who made his way to that dignity through credit with the Etolians, and by bribing with a talent each of the five Ephori²². At the same time, Agesipolis, a child, was chosen king from the family of the Agidæ, merely by way of form.

Bold enterprise against the Achaean city Ægira. Olymp. exl. 1. B. C. 220.

Before Philip and his confederates had prepared for action, the Lacedæmonians, under Lycurgus, invaded the Argive territory; and the Elians, headed by Euripides an Etolian, entered the nearest districts of Achaia. Nor were the Etolians themselves remiss in forming new expeditions, worthy of their character. Ægira was a city seven stadia from the sea, midway between Sicyon and Ægium, situate on rough hills difficult of access, and overlooking the Corinthian gulph directly opposite to Delphi and Parnassus. A deserter from Etolia had been admitted into the place, and observed, that the gate towards Ægium was intrusted to men

²¹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.

²² Id. *ibid.* c. 35.

often stupified by wine, and always neglectful of duty. CHAP.
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 Upon this discovery, he applied to Dorimachus, who, being always ready for such enterprises, crossed the gulph with a multitude of his countrymen in the night, and cast anchor in the river Crius, which ran by the city. The deserter was ready to receive them: he chose twenty of the most daring of the band; and having conducted them by different paths with which he was well acquainted, secretly penetrated into the place through the conduit of an aqueduct. He slew the heedless watchmen in their beds; broke the bars of the ill guarded gate with hatchets; and threw open the entrance to his countrymen. The Etolians, who soon arrived in great numbers, behaved as if those, who had once gained admission into a city, were thereby its masters. The greater part of them separated for the purpose of depredation; and while their stragglers were employed in breaking open the houses and rifling their contents, the Ægirates had time to assemble in sufficient force to attack and repel those who still remained in a body. They were pursued with great fury; many were stifled at the gate, and many driven headlong down the precipices. Dorimachus having lost his boldest companions, disgracefully escaped to his boats²³.

Defeated
by the
bravery of
the Ægira-
tes.

It was the misfortune of the Achæans, that their contingents of troops and their contributions in money were raised with extreme slowness. They thus allowed the Spartan Lycurgus to gain possession of several small fortresses in Arcadia, and Euripides, the Etolian general commanding the Elians, to seize others still more important in Achaia; from which he greatly infested that province. Dymè, Pharæ, and Tritæa suffered most by these incursions; and as they derived not any assistance from the confederacy, they applied the money due from them to the league to the raising of cavalry for the protection of their respective districts: a measure enforced by strong necessity, but of most pernicious example²⁴.

Delays and
impolicy of
the Achæ-
ans.

²³ Polybius, l. iv. c. 57. et seq. ²⁴ Ibid. c. 60. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

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Philip enters the
Etolian territories.
Olymp.
exl. 1.
B. C. 220.

Takes Ambracus and
restores it to the Epirots.

Expels the Etolians from their fortresses in Acarnania.

When the month of May came round, the Achæans chose the younger Aratus pretor in room of his father. Philip, in the same month, began his march from Macedon at the head of so great a force, that, had he at once penetrated into Etolia, he would have made a most seasonable diversion in favour of the Achæans, and in all probability have put a speedy end to the war²⁵. But through the pressing instances of the Epirots, who had joined him in great numbers, he was prevailed on to lay siege to Ambracus, a place of much importance on the Ambracian gulph, which, penetrating above thirty miles inland, divides Epirus from Acarnania. Ambracus was well fortified by nature and art; being situate in the middle of a marsh, that could be passed by only one narrow causeway, and also strongly defended by a wall and outworks. It commanded the adjoining country, as well as the city of Ambra-cia; which had been the capital of Epirus under the renowned Pyrrhus, but which was now held by the Etolians. Philip spent forty days in forming mounds and approaches in the marsh, before the enemy were brought to capitulation through fear of being put to the sword. The fortress and all the neighbouring territory, he resigned to the Epirots their ancient owners.

He then crossed the Ambracian gulph, where narrowest, to an ancient temple of the Acarnanians, called Actium, and destined, under that name, to high renown in history, as the scene of action between Augustus and Antony for the mastership of the Roman world. At this place, the gulph is scarcely half a mile broad²⁶, but it afterwards spreads into the expanse of ten miles, and extends twenty miles inland from Actium to Amphilo-chian Argos. In Acarnania, Philip being joined by two thousand foot and two hundred

²⁵ Polybius, l. iv. c. 61.

²⁶ Before the strait at Actium, there is another still narrower at Anactorium, communicating immediately with the Ionian sea. From this sea, Actium is distant ten miles, nearly a third part of the

length of the whole gulph. Inattention to local circumstances has greatly perplexed the battle of Actium and the operations preceding and following it: but of this hereafter.

horse belonging to that republic, proceeded to the river Achelous, which flowing from mount Pindus into the Corinthian gulph, anciently separated Acarnania from Etolia. But the Etolians were now masters of both sides the river. Philip attacked their numerous strong-holds extending thirty miles along the lower part of its course; and though many of them were well fortified by walls and towers, and ably defended, his perseverance prevailed in reducing Phætæa, Stratus, Illoria, Elæus, and Pæanium down to Oemiadæ at the mouth of the river. This last named place, distant only ten miles from Dymè in Achaia, Philip determined to secure in future, and began strongly to fortify it²⁷ with materials conveyed from other Etolian strong-holds, which he had recently demolished. But his labours were interrupted by important intelligence from home.

While he was occupied by sieges at one extremity of the Etolian dominions, that people had drained their garrisons in the other, and made an irruption into the Pierian plain, one of the finest districts of Macedon. There, they had sacked the city of Dium venerable for its temples and festivals, and for the statues of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle of Granicus, as well as those of the long series of Macedonian kings. Philip had not suspended his operations on the first intelligence of this inroad, but he was now informed that the Dardaniens, an Illyrian nation, were hovering on his northern frontier. At such a crisis, he could not safely proceed southward to Peloponnesus. He sent therefore to assure the Achæans, who plied him with successive embassies, that as soon as he had dissipated the present danger, he would think of nothing but how to afford them the most effectual aid. His unexpected return to Pella, of which the Illyrians were informed by deserters, struck these barbarians with such terror, that they immediately dispersed to their respective cantons. But, as the corn was now ripe, the Macedonians could not be withdrawn from home before they had reaped their harvest. Philip, however, proceeded to

Is recalled
by the in-
vasion of
Pieria and
the motions
of the Dar-
danians.

²⁷ Polybius, l. iv. c. 64, & 65.

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Philip's
winter
campaign
in Pelopon-
nesus.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

He sur-
prises and
defeats the
Elians.

His march was performed with so much celerity and at such an unusual season, that it totally escaped the notice of his enemies in Peloponnesus. To keep it still a secret, he shut the gates of Corinth, and made the roads in that neighbourhood be strictly guarded. Meanwhile he called the elder Aratus from Sicyon, and also wrote to his son of the same name, then pretor of the Achæans. He then marched towards Arcadia; and near Stymphalus, on the frontier of that province, surprised a body of three thousand Elians, who had advanced to ravage Sicyonia. Euripides, their Etolian leader, had gained information of Philip's approach, but did not think proper to communicate the intelligence to his troops, although, by countermarching, he had endeavoured to avoid the enemy. But it happened that while the Macedonian van mounted the hill Apelaurus, the foremost of the Elians also gained that rough ascent. Euripides with a few horsemen escaped through byways to the strong-hold of Psophis. His soldiers, though perplexed at the unaccountable flight of their leader, were persuaded to keep their ranks, being assured by those who succeeded to the command, that the troops whom they beheld could be no other than some contemptible Achæans who had at length taken courage to defend their possessions. The delusion was strengthened, on observing the brazen bucklers of the enemy: for Antigonus Doson had formerly armed, in that manner, the Megalopolitans whose uncommon zeal in the public cause would not fail to augment the Achæan army. But the nearer approach of the Macedonians having revealed the truth, the Elians threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight;

²⁸ I particularize these troops for a reason that will appear presently.

scarcely one hundred of them escaped captivity or death: this complete victory gave the first intimation of Philip's arrival in Peloponnesus²⁹. CHAP.
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The Macedonians continued their march through Arcadia, and suffered much hardship in passing mountains then covered with deep snow. On the third day they arrived at Caphyæ, nearly midway between Stymphalus and Psophis, into which latter place, Euripides had thrown himself. The king halted two days for refreshment at Caphyæ, until he was joined by the younger Aratus, at the head of some Achæan forces, which made the whole army now exceed ten thousand men. His enemies were not likely to face him in the field, but it was Philip's intention to dispossess them of their strong-holds, for which purpose he collected ladders and machines from all the cities through which he passed. Is joined by
the young-
er Aratus.

Psophis, against which he first directed his arms, was a very ancient city in the center of Peloponnesus, and though within the Arcadian frontier, now strictly associated with the Elians, from whom it had received a garrison. It was inclosed between a deep torrent descending from mount Scaurus on the west, and not fordable in winter, and the famed river Erymanthus, ennobled by the exploits of Hercules. The two streams united a little beyond the southern walls of the city. Thus defended on three sides by water, a steep hill, skilfully fortified, served it on the north for a citadel. It was also surrounded by walls in complete repair, and of unusual height. These obstacles did not discourage Philip. He passed the Erymanthus by a bridge which the enemy unaccountably neglected to destroy. His scaling ladders were at once raised on every side, and the soldiers, who fell in the assault, were succeeded with such alacrity by fresh troops, that the besieged ceased from resistance and retreated into the citadel. Want of provisions obliged them to capitulate. Philip strictly observed the conditions granted to them, relieved their present necessities, and advised them to remain Takes Pso-
phis and in-
ferior cities
in Arcadia.

²⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 68. & seq.

CHAP. in their place of safety, until his army had moved forward,
XV. lest any of them might be pillaged or insulted by his soldiers.

The tempestuous weather detained him a few days in Psophis. At his departure, he gave the city to the Achæans, accompanying the gift with many professions of good will to their commonwealth, and observing, that a city, which had long infested them, might now be converted into a place of arms for infesting their enemies. The surrender of Psophis occasioned that of Lasion and Stratus, smaller cities usurped by the Elians on that frontier. The former, Philip also gave to the Achæans; the latter, he restored to the Arcadians of Telphussa, from whose territory it had formerly been dismembered³⁰.

Philip in-
vades Elis.
—Manners
of the Eli-
ans.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

The king had now at his mercy the neighbouring province of Elis, to which the Etolians sent but feeble succours, and to which the Lacedæmonians, for a reason that will presently be explained, could not afford the smallest aid. He first proceeded to Olympia, and sacrificed to the gods of the place, as if to deprecate their wrath against his invasion of a territory long held sacred. But the Elians, by taking an active part in all recent commotions, and especially by their alliance with the Etolians the great disturbers of the public tranquillity, had stupidly forfeited the best of all national privileges, that of maintaining undisturbed peace, in the midst of inveterate and unceasing warfare. A remnant of their ancient manners, of their industry and innocence, still appeared in their passion for agriculture, and their fondness for retired rural life, which had formerly been carried to such a height, that many opulent families, settled in the country of Elis, had never once visited the capital of that name in the course of two or three generations³¹. The territory, therefore, was extremely populous, so that Philip made great numbers of prisoners among those who refused to embrace his cause, and had not time to escape to their strong-holds. Of these, one of the principal was Thalamæ in the north of the province. It surrendered on the

³⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 72. & seq.

³¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 73.

first assault, though Amphidamus, pretor of the Elians, CHAP. XV. commanded two hundred mercenaries in the place, which contained besides five thousand persons, and much valuable property. In the south of the province Philip was equally successful; the whole district of Triphylia, separating Elis from Messenia, and adorned by eight rich cities, submitted in the course of six days. His rapid conquests in that province.

This conquest brought Philip to the neighbourhood of Phigalia, which, as a fit post for infesting Messenia, had been occupied, as we have seen, by Etolian pirates, the original authors of the war. The Phigalians had been long weary of these insolent masters; whose injuries they now had it in their power to punish: they allowed them, however, to depart in safety with their effects; and then sent a deputation to Philip, inviting him to take possession of Phigalia. Shortly before this surrender, Philip had gained Alipheira, another fortress on the same western frontier of Arcadia, fifteen miles north of Phigalia, and then occupied by Elians. and Alipheira. The town stood on a steep and craggy ridge above a mile in height; and the highest peak supported a strong citadel, ornamented with a brazen statue of Minerva, of uncommon magnitude and exquisite beauty. Colossal statue of Minerva. Upon what occasion or at whose expense this precious monument was erected at Alipheira, even the inhabitants did not pretend to explain. But all agreed, that it was the work of Hecatodorus and Sostratus in the noblest age³² of art, and one of the most finished productions of those great masters³³.

After this brilliant campaign, Philip, having secured his conquests, evacuated Arcadia, and spent the remainder of the winter in Argos. Early in the spring, he took the field in Achaia, with a view to expel the Elians from a strong-hold called Teichos, on the verge of the Dymeian district. The place was of small extent, being scarcely a furlong and a half in circuit, but its strong walls rose to the height of Philip takes Teichos.—The height of its walls.

³² Hecatodorus flourished in the 102 Olympiad, and Sostratus in the 114. Plin. N. H. l. xxxiv. c. 8. Both

Pliny and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 26, call him Hypatodorus.

³³ Polyb. l. iv. c. 78.

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forty-five feet. In this enterprise, his good fortune continued to attend him. He gave the fortress to the Dymeans; and advancing beyond it into Elis with his army, collected much booty from the hitherto unravaged parts of that territory³⁴.

Philip's mi-
nisters.—
Their on-
worthy in-
trigues.

In his proceedings hitherto, Philip had been guided chiefly by the elder Aratus, to the great dissatisfaction of his Macedonian ministers. These men, who had not ventured to exhibit their true characters during the vigilant reign of Antigonus Doson, stood in less awe of his youthful successor. Antigonus, with that prudence which marked his conduct, had assigned to them by will, such distinct departments in the service of his nephew, as seemed best calculated to diminish rivalry and prevent discord. Apelles was appointed to attend his person as a guardian or counsellor; Leontius was set over the infantry; Alexander commanded the bodyguard; Megaleas was public secretary; and Taurion, the king's lieutenant in Peloponnesus. Apelles however, by gaining the ear of the young prince, began to engross the whole power of administration. Leontius and Megaleas had become his creatures: he openly arraigned the incapacity of Alexander; by insidious praises, more dangerous than reproach, he laboured to ruin Taurion; but the elder Aratus was the main object of his jealousy. Apelles had instilled into Philip's mind, too susceptible of ambition, that, instead of the ally, he ought to make himself the master of the Achæans³⁵. On several occasions he had taught the Macedonians to treat their auxiliaries with contumely; to dislodge them from their quarters, to deprive them of their due share in the common plunder. But at the intercession of Aratus, Philip had redressed these grievances, and even reprimanded his haughty counsellor, whose authority over him was founded merely on the superiority of years, and on habit, without any corresponding enforcement from abilities or virtues. To regain his credit, Apelles began to tamper with those Achæan leaders who were at variance with Aratus

Philip pre-
vailed on to
oppose
Aratus.

³⁴ Polyb. l. iv. c. 83.

³⁵ Id. ibid. c. 76. et seq.

about employments in the state. He took care that Philip's ears should be frequently besieged by their complaints, and his mind corrupted by insinuations, that were the pretorship wrested from the family, or dependents of Aratus, the king would find it easy to direct, at pleasure, the affairs of Peloponnesus. To make this tempting experiment, Philip met the Achæans in their vernal assembly at Ægium; the younger Aratus laid down his office at its legal term: his father recommended Timoxenus to fill his place; but through the solicitations of Apelles, which were considered as those of Philip himself, Timoxenus was repulsed, and Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, elected pretor³⁶.

Apelles determined to follow up this victory; and an accidental occurrence greatly encouraged his design. When Amphidamus, the general of the Elians, as related above, was made prisoner in Thalamæ, he obtained admission to Philip, and convinced him, that without the labour of new battles and sieges, he might on easy terms make the Elians his friends. Philip said, that if they would quit their alliance with the Etolians, he would himself defend them from external danger, while their domestic concerns should be submitted wholly to their own management. Favourable as these conditions were, Amphidamus could not persuade his countrymen to accept them: though many of their cities and a great part of their territory, as well as innumerable prisoners, were in the hands of the enemy, they adhered obstinately and unaccountably to the worst of allies; men whose furious passions knew little distinction between friend and foe; and who frequently outraged intolerably the very nations whom they professed to defend. Apelles assured Philip, that Aratus and his son were at the bottom of this inexplicable perverseness. These refined and far seeing politicians, he said, affected in their deep wisdom to discern much danger to Greece, from the entire submission of the Elians to Philip. To anticipate so perilous a result, they had

Apelles' calumnies against Aratus, detected.

³⁶ Polybius, l. iv. c. 82.

CHAP. practised secretly with Amphidamus, at whose instigation
XV. his countrymen had rejected terms of peace with which they ought eagerly to have closed. Philip, giving too easy an ear to this calumny, instantly called the persons accused into his presence; Apelles urged his accusation with the utmost confidence; and, as the king remained silent, told them from himself, that his master was so much shocked with their doubledealing and ingratitude, that he had determined to desire an extraordinary meeting of the Achæans, and to explain in that assembly his reasons for returning immediately to Macedon, and relinquishing all concern in their affairs. The elder Aratus requested Philip to suspend his judgment: that accusation was not proof: that he was fully conscious of his own innocence, and doubted not but he should defeat every machination by which Apelles might endeavour to impeach it. While Apelles was still preparing his evidence, Amphidamus suddenly arrived at Dymè. His zeal in exhorting his countrymen to accept Philip's offers of accommodation, had made them regard him as a traitor, and they had attempted to seize his person, that he might be sent a prisoner into Etolia. He had escaped their grasp, and now came to take refuge with Philip, for whose sake he had incurred so much danger. Upon the first news of his arrival, Aratus ran to the king, and requested that Amphidamus might be immediately sent for; observing, that none could give clearer evidence concerning the delinquency with which he himself was charged, than the person supposed to be his accomplice; and that none would disclose the truth more readily to Philip, than the man whose whole hopes centered in the royal protection. Amphidamus was called and questioned: the calumny was clearly detected³⁷; but though the persons accused thereby rose in credit with Philip, yet the young prince could not break the chain of dependence in which Apelles had contrived to bind him.

³⁷ Polyb. l. iv. c. 86.

Eperatus, raised by that minister to the pretorship of Achaia, soon showed himself unfit for so arduous a trust. Philip was obliged to have recourse to the influence of Aratus, before the Achæans would consent to pay to him his expected subsidies³⁸. The three states, with which he was at war, had not hitherto afforded much assistance to each other. The Spartans had been rendered inactive abroad, by a new sedition at home, headed by a bold and popular youth, named Chilon, who balanced the authority and threatened the life of Lycurgus; and the Etolians, though they carried their arms wherever plunder tempted them, and had lately ransacked even the venerable temple of Dodona in Epirus, yet showed great backwardness to encounter the Macedonians in the field, and had made but feeble efforts in defence of their Elian allies. But as Lycurgus, the steady partisan of Etolia, had now recovered his ascendancy in Sparta, Philip had reason to fear that his enemies might begin to act with united vigour.

To prevent their cooperation, and at the same time to assail with seasonable celerity their widely separated possessions, he assembled his own and the Achæan fleet in Lechæum, the western harbour of Corinth³⁹. The Macedonian soldiers were soon inured to the labour of the oar; and the character of that people leading them to perform zealously every service enjoining them, they soon became as expert at sea as on land, and equally brave on either element. Having stationed some vessels to guard the friendly shore of the Messenians, who had become active in the war since the expulsion of the Etolian pirates from Phigalia, and having left a considerable force to protect the inland frontiers of his allies, Philip sailed for Cephallenia, to attack Palus or Palle, the principal naval magazine of the enemy. The place was almost surrounded by precipices, or by the sea, and could be approached only by a narrow terrace,

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State of
the belli-
gerent
powers.

Philip at-
tacks Palle
in Cephallenia.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
B. C. 219.

³⁸ Fifty talents the day he took the field; 10,000 measures of corn; and 17 talents monthly. At this rate the Achæans, besides corn, furnished Philip with an annual subsidy of 37,000*l*. Polyb. l. v. c. 1.

³⁹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 262

CHAP. XV. looking towards Zacynthus. But the Macedonians, were full of alacrity; the neighbouring fields supplied them with a profusion of ripe corn; and Philip had been joined by many Epirots, Messenians, and Acarnanians, whose shores had been long infested from this Cephallenian harbour. His machines were advanced towards the only side on which the city was assailable; the defenders of Palus were driven from their outworks; and, a mine two hundred feet long being drawn under the walls, the place was summoned to capitulate. But as the Palleans rejected this alternative, Philip set fire to the wooden piles on which the fortifications were built: a dreadful ruin ensued, and the Macedonian hypaspists, the bravest body in the army, were commanded to enter by the breach⁴⁰.

His enterprise disconcerted by treachery.

But on this occasion, the intrigues of Leontius, which will be accounted for presently, defeated the near prospect of taking the place. He had practised with the officers serving under him to abet his villany, and his men were led to the attack with such dexterous unskilfulness, that they were thrice disgracefully repulsed. The great number of the wounded deterred Philip from renewing the assault. He marked, however, the complicated treachery by which his enterprise had been frustrated; but, as he had learned that Dorimachus the Etolian pretor had marched with more than half his army into Thessaly, he hastened to the capital of Etolia itself, left nearly defenceless. On the second night he arrived with his fleet at Leucas, sailed through the shallow artificial channel⁴¹ between that island and Acarnania by supporting his galleys on buoyant skiffs usually employed for that purpose, and then steering his course up the Ambracian gulph, arrived before daybreak at the safe harbour of Limnæa. Here, he was speedily joined by the Acarnanians in a mass⁴², headed by their pretor Aristophantus, for the whole nation, even those long past the military age, were inflamed with keen desire to avenge their wrongs from the Etolians. The Epirots also flocked to his standard, but the great extent

He invades Etolia. Olymp. cxi. 2. B. C. 219.

⁴⁰ Polyb. l. v. c. 4. ⁴¹ Strabo, l. x. p. 451. ⁴² Πανόμη. Polyb. l. v. c. 6

of their country rendered it more difficult for them to assemble. Philip marched from Limnæa in the evening, and, at the distance of six miles, allowing his troops to take some refreshment, continued his progress all night to the banks of the Achelous, between Stratus and Canope. In the space of twelve hours he had marched thirty-five miles, and stood on the Etolian frontier, only twenty miles distant from the capital Thermum, the seat of religion and government, and the vast magazine into which this nation of robbers had collected the accumulating plunder of many ages.

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The road to Thermum led through Metapa and Pamphla, towns on the lake Trichonis, embosomed in woody mountains, which can only be crossed by narrow and intricate defiles. Philip passed the Achelous, and proceeding twelve miles in an eastern direction, entered the rough and steep paths near Metapa, whose inhabitants took flight at his approach. He was careful, however, to leave guards at the narrow entrances, thereby to secure his retreat. He then came to Pamphla, which is half way between Metapa and Thermum, and about three miles distant from the latter, the whole way being almost a continued ascent, difficult throughout, and in many places made dreadful by vaulting rocks and yawning caverns, fit avenues to the terrible den of the savage and merciless Etolians. But the hitherto inviolated security of Thermum had rendered that people altogether unprepared for receiving an enemy. Both their territory and their city suffered similar injuries to those which they had been accustomed to inflict. The booty was immense; what could not easily be transported, was burned: among other articles of value, fifteen thousand suits of armour were committed to the flames. In those signal acts of vengeance, Philip did nothing inconsistent with the rights of conquest, as understood and acknowledged in his age and country. But when he called to mind the sacrilege recently committed by the Etolians at Dodona, the most ancient oracle in Greece; and still more, when he reflected on their outrages at Dium, the most venerated sanctuary of Mace-

Tremendous avenue to Thermum, the capital of that country.

Dreadful desolation of Thermum.

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tion on its
ruins.Philip's
impolicy
and impi-
ety.His return
to the sea-
coast, and
carnival
with his
generals.

don, his rage disdained all ordinary limits. The porticoes to the temple were set on fire: its votive offerings, many of them works of exquisite art, were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the statues, almost two thousand in number were overturned, and all of them defaced, except those bearing the form and superscription of some favourite divinity: the roof of the temple was burnt, and even the greater part of its walls demolished to the foundation. On a massy fragment of the ruin, the following verse was engraved: "Behold how far the bolts of Dium fly!" The line is parodied from one in Euripides⁴³, and was the more energetic in Greek, because, by its double⁴⁴ meaning in that language, heaven itself was made a party in the king's ungoverned fury; and in the destruction of the temple of Thermum, the gods of Macedon were represented as taking vengeance on those of Etolia. The epigram, for it deserves not any better name, was the work of Samius, a youth who had been educated with the king, and whose ingenious witticisms were afterwards much celebrated. He was the son of Chrysogonus, who will appear presently in the character of a virtuous counsellor, as well as in that of an able general. But though Philip's courtiers and contemporaries approved his sacrilegious proceedings, both their impolicy and their impiety have been stigmatized by the impartial voice of history. His behaviour appeared equally weak and wicked, when contrasted with that of his three most illustrious predecessors; with the generosity of Antigonus Doseon at Sparta; with the indulgence of Philip, the father of Alexander, to the Athenians; above all, with the religious forbearance of Alexander himself, who protected from the slightest insult every thing sacred, even among the Persians, though those barbarians had demolished or profaned the most venerable temples of Greece⁴⁵.

The news of the invasion hastened Dorimachus from Thessaly. He had been prevented from descending into

⁴³ Ὁρας τὸν αἰθρὸν, ὃ θεὸς διεπτὰτο.
Euripid. Supplic. v. 860.

divine darts, or the darts of Dium

⁴⁵ Polybius, l. v. c. 10.

⁴⁴ Το Διον θεὸς means either the

the rich Thessalian plain by Chrysogonus, just mentioned, then commanding in that country; and he came home only in time to lament the desolation of his country. Philip returned to his ships by his former road; and, on his way to the seacoast, set fire to Pamphlia, and rased Metapa to the ground, the guards which he had posted at the gorges of the mountains repelling the hovering parties of the enemy, who might otherwise have obstructed the retreat of an army incumbered with booty. The Etolians had assembled in force at Stratus, on the right bank of the Achelous. Without having attempted to disturb Philip's passage of the river, they endeavoured to harass his rear, but they were repelled with considerable loss, and saved from total destruction only by the strength of their walls. Upon the safe arrival of the army at Limnæa, solemn sacrifices of thanks were offered to the gods, and Philip held a carousal with his officers, from which, according to the Greek fashion, it was shameful for any man to retire sober.

The truth, that is in wine, unmasked on this occasion Leontius and Megaleas, who, since their patron Apelles had sunk in credit with the king, had been cooperatnig with that minister in a scheme of the blackest perfidy. When Apelles, as we have before seen, was foiled in his attempt to ruin Aratus, and the latter thereby gained even new credit with Philip, the pangs of disappointed ambition exasperated a fierce mind into implacable resentment, both against his royal master and his triumphant rival. But the keener his animosity, the greater care he employed to conceal it. Affecting warm zeal for the service, while Philip yet prepared for his Etolian expedition, Apelles sailed to Chalcis, under pretence of expediting the equipments in that warlike magazine, and of being more conveniently situate there for corresponding with Thessaly and Macedon, and directing the financial administration of those countries. His real design in the voyage was to intercept the king's resources, while the other conspirators laboured with equal

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Drunken
fray, in
which
Aratus is
insulted.

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Philip's
ministers
betray
their vil-
lanous
design.

Their trial
proves in-
effectual.

assiduity to tarnish his glory in the field⁴⁶. We have seen how successfully Leontius obstructed the taking of Palle in Cephalenia; the king, however, still kept on terms with him, fearful of his credit with the targeteers whom he commanded, and because both he and his accomplices had hitherto concealed their hostility. But, at the breaking up of the drunken entertainment, Leontius and Megaleas ventured openly to assault Aratus: he was defended by his friends; a fray thus ensued between the adherents of either party; the king sent troops to end the vile contest, and secure the authors of it; Leontius slid unnoticed through the crowd, but Megaleas and Crinon, more daring at that moment, were conducted to Philip, and aggravated their guilt by declaring that they would not rest satisfied without inflicting condign punishment on their adversaries. The king reprimanded their insolence, imposed on each of them a fine of twenty talents, and ordered them to be taken into custody until the mulct were liquidated. Next day Leontius, attended by some favourite targeteers, repaired to the king's tent, to make inquiry concerning the arrest of his friends, and to know by whose authority they were confined. Philip, though in early youth, answered "by mine," with an air of such intrepid dignity, that the conspirator was seized with the terror which he had hoped to inspire.

As the fleet had now prepared for sailing back to Leucadia, the further examination of the culprits was delayed until they arrived in that island. There, the king made an equitable partition among his forces of the plunder gained in Etolia; and a council of Macedonians, of the first rank in the court and army, met to try Megaleas and Crinon. Aratus was their accuser: among the proofs which he produced against them, many tended also to blacken Leontius and Apelles. But the court was contented with confirming the king's sentence against the persons accused. Leontius was even admitted as surety for Megaleas, who was therefore discharged; Crinon remained in confinement.

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. v. c. 14 & seq.

Philip's success in Etolia encouraged his hopes, and invigorated his activity. He staid but two days at Leucas, and early in the third morning sailed for Corinth, not omitting, in the course of his voyage, to ravage the Etolian coast, particularly the fertile district of Oeanthe. From the harbour of Lechæum he sent couriers to his allies, desiring them to meet him in Arcadia, that their united forces might invade Laconia⁴⁷. He then left Lechæum, and on the seventh day gained the hills that overlook Sparta, and encamped at Amyclæ, three miles south of that capital. Leaving Amyclæ, famous for its temple and colossal statue of Apollo⁴⁸, and distinguished for its rich variety of trees and fruits, he carried his incursions southward to the promontory of Ténarus, and then retracing his route, passed the city and safe harbour of Gythium⁴⁹; from thence skirting the inmost recesses of the Laconic gulph, he again proceeded southward to Bæa, near the promontory of Malea the western horn, as it were, of Laconia and Peloponnesus. From cape Malea he returned northward, and wasted the country on every side, particularly the beautiful plain of Helos, the largest and finest district in the whole territory. A predatory march of four days brought him back to his former encampment at Amyclæ.

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Philip's return to Corinth, and invasion of Laconia. Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

Meanwhile the Spartan king Lycurgus could hardly give credit to Philip's celerity, having just heard of his expedition to Thermum, and of the ruin with which he had overwhelmed, only fifteen days before, a place a hundred and fifty miles distant from Sparta, and two hundred from cape Malea. While the invasion raged in the south of his country, Lycurgus had been occupied on the opposite frontier, and was returning from Glympes, where he had defeated a body of the allies hastening to join Philip, according to the instructions which, as before seen, they had received from that prince. As much elated by this victory as he was enraged at

His wonderful celerity.

⁴⁷ Polybius, l. v. c. 17. & seq.

⁴⁸ History of Ancient Greece, c. xiv.

⁴⁹ The city Gythium, or Gythæum, is distant above two miles from the harbour.

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Bold operations in the neighbourhood of Sparta.

Philip's devastations, Lycurgus determined that his enemies should not repass Sparta without fighting a battle.

For understanding clearly his dispositions towards this end, it is necessary to advert to the situation of the Lacedæmonian capital, which, though commonly described as a round city⁵⁰ on a plain, was defended by mountains at no great distance from it. The Eurotas flows on the East of Sparta, a river too deep to be forded during the greatest part of the year, and whose eastern margin is roughened by the ridge called Menelaïum, from its towering temple of Menelaus, as well as from the tombs of that hero and his too celebrated queen. The hills of Menelaïum are of sufficient altitude to command the space between themselves and Sparta; which space, including the part occupied by the stream, does not exceed three hundred yards in breadth. To interrupt Philip's return through this narrow ground, in his way from Amyclæ, Lycurgus in person occupied mount Menelaïum, with two thousand men, and gave orders to the far greater number which remained in the city, as soon as they beheld his signal, to issue from several gates at once, with their front towards the Eurotas, and in the place where that river flowed nearest to the city. His orders were obeyed with precision. Yet Philip, after twice defeating the Spartans, forced his way through the defile, and encamped securely at its northern extremity, about a quarter of a mile distant from Sparta. The post which he thus occupied commanded the only access to that city from all the northern parts of Peloponnesus, and was admirably adapted for making safe incursions into the adjacent districts. At breaking up his camp, Philip formed his men in proud array, thus defying his enemies before he began his retreat. As the Spartans stirred not from their walls, he converted his order of battle into a column of march. In his return northward he offered sacrifices of thanks to the mountains Eva and

⁵⁰ The circuit of Sparta was 48 stadia: that of Megalopolis, 50; yet the former was the larger city, its form being more nearly that of a circle. Polybius, l. ix. c. 21.

⁵¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 18 & seq.

Olympus, seems already commemorated in the history of the Cleomenic war. He made a short halt at Tegea, to dispose of the heaviest part of his booty; and from thence passed through Argos to Corinth.

The kings of Macedon were never exposed to greater danger than after some brisk tide of prosperity. This peculiarity arose from the composition and character of their armies. In the battles near Sparta, the targeteers, headed by Leontius and his friends, had carried away the palm of victory. Their natural insolence, heightened by success, broke out into open mutiny, which was quelled by the presence of mind and spirit of the young king.

Philip
quells a
sedition
raised by
his minis-
ters.

Leontius and Megaleas, seeing that their schemes against Philip had redounded to their own disgrace, sent for their coadjutor Apelles from Chalcis, that his great dexterity might be exerted towards reestablishing their influence. To grace his return, they sent to meet him the most distinguished divisions of men whom they commanded. His entrance to Corinth had thus the air of a triumph. But when he hastened to see the king, an attendant told him that Philip was busy: Apelles disdained to take a refusal; the guards, however, were firm in denying him admission. He then perceived that his perfidies had come to light; and the retinue that attended him also perceived the downfall of his authority. They immediately left him to the company of his own servants; for the estimation of men, as Polybius observes, is decided at courts, by a trifle; and they are either talents or farthings, just as the smile or frown of royalty stamps the impression on them⁵². Megaleas, when apprised of the disgrace of a minister through whose means he had expected to recover his own credit, no longer endeavoured to maintain his ground. He fled from Corinth, unperceived, during a visit made by Philip across the gulph to Phocis, the motives for which, at this juncture, are not explained. Megaleas first took shelter in Athens, but was expelled from that city as an ene-

They are
defeated in
their ma-
chinations,
and capital-
ly punish-
ed.

⁵² Polybius, v. 26.

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my to the king: he afterwards found refuge in Thebes. In the voyage to Phocis, Philip carried with him Apelles, and even admitted him to his table, but without giving him much of his conversation, or any share of his confidence. He shortly returned from the northern side of the Corinthian gulph to Sicyon, and lodged in the house of Aratus, without regard to the affront thereby given to the invitation of Eperatus, actual pretor of the republic. When he learned the flight of Megaleas, he ordered his surety, Leontius, to be imprisoned, after he had taken the precaution of removing the targeteers to a distance; and though these troops clamoured with their usual licentiousness against the confinement of their leader, an incident now happened which enabled the king to set their resentment at defiance. The Etolians, humbled by a long series of misfortunes, had prevailed on the republics of Rhodes and Chios, commercial states, ever friendly to public tranquillity, to use their good offices in obtaining for them a truce with Philip, preparatory to a general pacification. To deliberate on this measure, Philip summoned the deputies of his allies to Patræ, in Achaia. But at this place letters were brought to him, intercepted in Phocis, and written by Megaleas, in name of all the conspirators, to the Etolians, exhorting them strenuously to persevere in the war. This discovery afforded such convincing proofs of guilt, that the Macedonians concurred with their king in condemning Apelles, together with his son and Leontius, to death. Persons were sent to Thebes to cite Megaleas before the magistrates of that place, for the payment of the fine imposed on him, in order that his person might be surrendered to a heavier punishment. He escaped the sentence of the law by laying violent hands on himself.

The only survivor amongst them, Ptolemy convicted and executed.

The Etolians, when they heard of these events, never doubted that the destruction of so many ministers and generals would create much confusion in Philip's government, and much dissatisfaction in his army. Accordingly they broke off

the negotiation; a circumstance by no means displeasing to the king. As the winter was now far advanced, he sent home the Macedonians through Thessaly, and himself sailed to Demetrius, in that province. In this place he found Ptolemy, an officer of the targeteers, and the only person still alive who had been involved in the conspiracy. Ptolemy was publicly tried by the Macedonians, and, after clear conviction, sentenced to death ⁵⁴.

Though all hopes of immediate peace had vanished, various circumstances kept the armies on both sides inactive during the first weeks of spring. New commotions in Sparta had driven Lycurgus from his country; and it was not until his return, that the Lacedæmonians resumed courage to cooperate with their Elia and Etolia allies. The northern frontiers of Macedon were invaded by hovering hordes of Dardanians. Before marching into Greece, Philip was obliged to fortify his dominions on that side, and particularly the valley, watered by the Axios, in Pæonia⁵⁵, the easiest route from Dardania into Macedon. A considerable body of Macedonians, under Taurion in Peloponnesus, was obliged to keep on the defensive, because, through the bad administration of the pretor Eperatus, the Achæan army had dwindled to a mere shadow. But when the month of May came round, the elder Aratus was, for the sixteenth time named to the pretorship. Under his direction, a decree passed for raising eight thousand infantry and five hundred horse; to which body of mercenaries the Achæans were to add three thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, all to be chosen from the wealthiest portion of their citizens, and to serve at their own expense. They were also to guard with stout galleys the coast of Argolis; and a squadron in the Corinthian gulph was to be kept in readiness for infesting the Etolians. Shortly after this resolution, operations

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State of the
belligerent
powers.
Olymp.
xli. 3.
B. C. 218.

⁵⁴ Id. l. v. c. 29.

⁵⁵ The Dardanians had recently made an incursion that way, and taken the city Bylazor, the larg-

est in Pæonia. Philip expelled the enemy from this place, and secured the passes leading to it. Polyb. l. 5. c. 97.

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commenced by reciprocal incursions: these open inroads were accompanied by surprises in the night and ambushes by day; but no pitched battle was fought, nor did any place of importance change masters. The Achæan fleet made several bold descents on the coast of Etolia, near Naupactus, and carried off much booty and many prisoners, among whom Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus, because he had been connected in hospitality with the Achæans, was enlarged without ransom⁵⁶. His companions were sold for slaves. The generous treatment of Cleonicus, though not unusual on similar occasions, engaged him to prolong his stay in Achaia until Philip's arrival there, by whom we shall see him employed a few months afterwards in the negotiations for peace.

Aratus
dexterously
adjusts
the differ-
ences
among the
Megalopo-
litans.

Amidst the tumult of military operations, Aratus was for a short time employed in a transaction peculiarly suitable to his character. The citizens of Megalopolis, since the disasters with which they had been afflicted in the Cleomenic war, had been a prey to those discontents which indigence is apt to create, even among a generous and highminded people. Warm debates prevailed about the manner of rebuilding their city. One party contended that the ancient circuit of their walls, above five miles in extent, ought to be much contracted. Besides this alteration, which they represented as essential to security, they insisted that the richer citizens should severally relinquish a third part of their lands, in order to obtain an accession of new inhabitants. The other party absolutely refused to listen to either of these proposals. Their dissent was sanctioned by Prytanis, the peripatetic⁵⁷, a man of great learning and authority, whom Antigonus Doson had formerly sent to Megalopolis to reform the laws of that state. But in the heat of faction, the reasonings of the philosopher were disregarded, or became the source of fresh discord.

⁵⁶ Id. v. 95.

⁵⁷ Καὶ τοῦτος τῆς ἀριστοτελικῆς (viz. Aristotelism). How much Aristotle was an enemy to agrarian laws, and

similar interferences with private property, appears from the 2d book of his politics throughout.

The dexterity of Aratus, whose whole life had united business with study, proved more successful. Through his skilful interposition, the parties in Megalopolis were perfectly reconciled to each other; and the conditions of their agreement were recorded on a pillar erected near Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council. In a grove adjacent to that city, a temple had been dedicated to Jupiter, "the lover of concord and protector of confederacies." Such an edifice seemed a fit receptacle for a marble record, commemorating the accommodation of all differences in Megalopolis, and its determined fidelity to the Achæan league⁵⁸.

Meanwhile Philip moved his army from Macedon, and began his campaign by an enterprise more immediately useful to himself. This was to expel the Etolians from their strong-holds extending along the southern frontier of Thessaly, from the eastern extremity of Etolia to the Ægean sea. At Melitæa, one of the strongest of these fortresses, he failed in his assault through the shortness of his ladders. After an obstinate siege, he gained however Thebes, in Pthiotis, a place still more important, since, commanding the entrance of the Pelasgic gulph, it stood conveniently for infesting all the neighbouring districts of Thessaly⁵⁹. Philip then proceeded to Peloponnesus, to grace with his presence the Nemean games, which were ready to be celebrated at Argos. While he sat at this solemnity, a messenger arrived from Macedon, bringing news of the famous battle of Thrasymenus, in Tuscany, where Hannibal had defeated the Romans, and driven them from the open country within their walls. New ambassadors arrived also from Rhodes and Chios, now accompanied by those of Egypt⁶⁰ and Byzantium, all earnestly desirous of composing the differences that had too long reigned in Greece. Philip declared, as before, his readiness to listen to them, provided they could bring the Etolians to reasonable terms. The ambassadors repaired with this agreeable news to Etolia; but, before their return,

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Philip takes Thebes, in Phthiotis. Olymp. cxi. 3. B. C. 218.

News of Hannibal's victories brought to him at Argos.

Negotiations for peace, through the intervention of maritime

⁵⁸ Id. c. 93.

⁵⁹ Id. c. 99.

⁶⁰ From Ptolemy Philopater, then

in the fifth year of his profligate reign.

CHAP.
XV.and com-
mercial
powers.

the king had been strongly urged by Demetrius of Pharus a man whose character will soon appear in its proper light to put an end to the wars in Greece, and direct his views towards Italy. He therefore sent Cleonicus of Naupactus to soften, as much as possible, the fierce minds of his countrymen, but at the same time proceeded himself with his army to the Elia frontier, and stormed the city Lasion, that he might not seem too eager for peace. Cleonicus repassed several times between him and the Etolians, and finally returned with assurances, that the magistrates of that people wished only for a personal conference with the king, in which all differences might be adjusted. Philip, in order to second this disposition, proceeded to Panormus, a harbour in Achaia directly opposite to Naupactus in Etolia; writing at the same time to his allies to send thither their deputies, empowered to treat of a general pacification. While he expected their arrival, he, with his usual activity, visited Zacynthus, and settled to his own satisfaction the affairs of that island. The deputies had now joined him: the Etolians still pressed the negotiation: but Philip, in order completely to satisfy his doubts concerning that turbulent people, sent to them the elder Aratus and Taurion to penetrate their real intentions⁶¹.

End of the
social war.

In one short conference, these able men fully satisfied themselves that the Etolians were sincere. They returned therefore without delay, bringing with them ambassadors to request that Philip would pass into Etolia, for the purpose of accommodating all disputes, more easily, in a personal interview with their magistrates. Philip embarked his troops, sailed across the Corinthian gulph, and encamped at the distance of two miles from Naupactus. The Etolians assembled without arms at a small distance from his camp. The negotiation began by a proposal from Philip, in the name of his allies, that peace should be established on the basis of actual

⁶¹ Id. c. 101 & seq.

possession. The Etolians consented to this principle, though highly unfavourable to them, because they had lost in the war many important strong-holds. But several conferences were requisite for settling all matters in detail, in one of which Agelaus of Naupactus spoke to the following purpose: "It were most earnestly to be wished, that the Greeks had always kept peace amongst themselves, and directed their hostilities against surrounding Barbarians. But that which would have been good policy at all times, is in the present juncture a matter of necessity. Consider the great and ambitious powers that have arisen in the west, and the vast exertions which they have been able to make by sea and land. They are actually engaged in a second and more desperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the spoils of his present adversary. He will look around him for new enemies, that may furnish him with materials for richer and more glorious triumphs. Instead of reducing to weakness and despondency any of the states of Greece, a king of Macedon ought to cherish them all, as members of his own body. The strength, resulting from such concord, will probably prevent aggression; if not, cordial cooperation will most certainly enable us to repel it. Placed at the head of united Greece and a watchful observer of foreign powers, Philip may seize opportunities for successful enterprise, that will place him in a rank with the most illustrious princes in his family; conquerors and civilizers of the world. Let us then hasten to conclude a lasting peace in the sincere spirit of amity; for, if we continue to grow weaker by unceasing divisions, and the storm which threatens in the west should assail us unprepared, I much fear there will be an end at once to our wars and our treaties, and all independent power in the management of our own affairs⁶²." The sentiments of Agelaus met with much approbation from all present, especially from the king; and a general peace was concluded on the terms which

Prophetic
speech of
Agelaus of
Naupactus
Olymp.
cxl. 4.
B. C. 217.

⁶² Id. c. 104.

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XV.

State of
Greece at
the end of
the social
war.—Pe-
loponne-
sians.

Republics
beyond the
Isthmus.—
Their de-
generacy
and profligacy.

Philip had proposed. In consequence of this transaction, the states of Peloponnesus obtained a breathing time, after the long wars in which their love of liberty had involved them. No people were better calculated than the Peloponnesians for innocent rural labours, and for enjoying with moderation all those gifts which industry and good polity bear in their train. Yet their unquenchable zeal for freedom, kept them in perpetual agitation and warfare after the principal states beyond the isthmus had submitted to a tranquil servitude.

Thessaly had long been a province of Macedon; the Athenians unambitious of assuming their ancient rank, were contented with averting hostility by flattery, indecent, indiscriminate, and under their present magistrates, Euricleidas and Micion, carried to such an extravagant excess, as made it alike disgraceful to its objects and its authors. Yet the Bœotians had sunk still lower than any of their neighbours. Not satisfied with abandoning all concern for the public affairs of Greece, they could scarcely be brought to pay the smallest attention to those of their own community. Dead to every interest of the present age and posterity, they thought of nothing but how to pass the fleeting hour in undisturbed jollity. Those who were without children left their whole property to the clubs in which they had been accustomed to revel; and even many parents, to the impoverishment of their own offspring, bequeathed the greatest part of their fortunes to some contemptible use: so prevalent was this madness among them, that many Bœotians had a right to partake of more club-dinners monthly, than there were days in the month⁶³.

Aratus and
Agelaus
respec-
tively at
the head of
Achaia and
Etolia.

Upon the conclusion of the war, Timoxenus was for the second time, appointed pretor of the Achæans. He was so entirely devoted to Aratus, that the whole weight of his

⁶³ Polybius describes this sottish state of the Bœotians under Olymp.

cxlvi. 4. but he observes, that it began twenty-five years sooner.

office centered in his patron. At the autumnal equinox, four months afterwards, Agelaus was raised to the same dignity among the Etolians; an appointment highly seasonable, as that turbulent people had already grown weary of peace, which to them seemed idleness⁶⁴. But Agelaus forced them, much against their inclination, to observe the conditions of the treaty which he had so happily procured for them.

⁶⁴ Id. c. 107.

CHAPTER XVI.

Apollonia in Illyricum contracts an Alliance with Rome. The Romans usurp on the Carthaginians. Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas. His Plans of Vengeance. Depredations of Illyrian Pirates. Romans reduce Queen Teuta. Their first Embassy to the States of Greece. Expel Demetrius of Pharus from Illyricum. His Flight to Philip of Macedon. Hannibal sacks the Greek City Saguntum. Philip's Conquests in Illyricum. Second Punic War. Hieron of Syracuse. His wise Policy at Home and Abroad. His Successor Hieronymus. Siege of Syracuse. Sicilians, their Glory in Arts and Letters. Oppression and Degradation under the Romans. Battle of Zama. Peace granted to Carthage.

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Connexion
of this his-
tory.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
B. C. 216.

THE termination of the social war is the first historical event, in which the affairs of the East received their impulse and direction from those of the West. The great victories, gained by Hannibal in Italy, inspired Philip with the resolution of accommodating all differences between Greece and Macedon, in hopes of employing their united strength¹ against the powerful western republic, which, by her conquests in Illyria, only two years before this period, had carried her victorious arms to the very door of his kingdom. The causes producing these conquests remounted to an early origin, and afford a new proof that the history of the world is only to be connected and embodied by a diligent attention to that of the Greeks, a seafaring and commercial people, alike enterprising and politic.

Apollonia
in Illyri-
cum.—Its
condition

The country, anciently called Illyria or Illyricum, formed, as it were, the counterpart to Italy on the opposite side of

¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 105—108.

the Hadriatic; these long strips² of territory nearly balancing each other, and either of them being nearly commensurate to the intervening gulph. The inlet to this gulph is formed by a strait of forty miles between the heel of Italy and the Acroceraunian mountains, which mark the northern frontier of Epirus. Immediately beyond this boundary, part of the Illyrian shore had been early occupied and planted by a chain of Greek colonies; Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Epidaurus, even to the little island of Pharos adjacent to the maritime district, still well known under the name of Dalmatia. Apollonia³, the first mentioned of these Greek cities, stood six miles from the sea: its harbour was directly opposite to that of Brandusium in Italy; and, as a station for ships, deserved the praise of conveniency even on a shore having generally deep water, and as abundant in good harbours as the corresponding coast of Italy is remarkably deficient in them. Thus favourably situate with regard to the sea, the territory of the little republic was on the land side sometimes infested by inroads, and always exposed to danger. About the time of Pyrrhus' repulse from Italy, the Apollonians trembled for their independence. They regarded the native Illyrians as irreclaimable barbarians; they dreaded Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon as a prince equally insidious and rapacious; and the friendship of the Romans, who had recently defeated the Epirots, also dangerous neighbours to Apollonia, seemed to promise the best security against the eventual projects of any of the warlike powers, by which their flourishing little commonwealth was environed.

Accordingly, the Romans had no sooner occupied Brundisium, than ambassadors sailed thither from Apollonia, to congratulate with them on the success of their arms against Pyrrhus, and to solicit an alliance with their commonwealth. The strangers were escorted to Rome, received honourably,

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previous to
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 266.

Admitted
into an alli-
ance with
Rome.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 266.

² The Greeks considered Illyricum as extending thirty journeys in length and five in breadth. The Romans found it by admeasurement

600 miles long and 120 broad. Ap-
pian. Illyric. sub Init.

³ Vid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 316 & seq.

CHAP. XVI. and favourably answered. But a quarrel falling out between them and some young Patricians, the ambassadors were insulted even with blows. The Romans, instead of abetting this brutality in their countrymen, determined severely to punish it. The culprits, though two of their number at that time held the honourable office of Edile, were solemnly surrendered into the hands of the injured Apollonians, that they might be carried home with them under a proper guard, and subjected to whatever vengeance the magistrates of the Greek state thought fit to inflict. These magistrates examined the affair, dispassionately and indulgently; and their proceedings equally politic and liberal, converted into warm friends a number of young patricians, afterwards of much weight in their country⁴. Shortly after this transaction, Rome was totally occupied in the first Punic war for twenty-four years; and, after its conclusion, half that space of time elapsed before as protectress of Apollonia, she sent her legions across the Hadriatic, and interposed, as we shall see presently, in the affairs of the adjacent countries with equal efficiency and dignity.

The Romans seize Sardinia. Olymp. cxxxv. 3. B. C. 238.

During the interval of twenty-three years between her two memorable conflicts with Carthage, her jealous attention was chiefly directed towards that state, which, though deprived of its boasted superiority at sea, divested of its rich possessions in Sicily, and even subjected to a disgraceful tribute, still enjoyed the means of again rendering itself formidable. The Carthaginians possessed an extensive territory; they were an industrious and frugal people; they commanded the rich inland traffic of Africa; and they were surrounded by numerous Nomadic nations, whom they had contrived to render, both in war and in commerce, entirely subservient to their interests. But, after the return of their armies from Sicily, they were engaged for three years in a disgraceful and dangerous conflict⁵ with the numerous foreign mercenaries, always maintained by their republic. Their general Hanno

⁴ Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xv. im. l. vi. c. 6.
Dion. Cass. Zonaras, & Valer. Max-

⁵ Polybius, l. i. c. 65 & seq.

was unfortunate. The command was intrusted to his rival Hamilcar Barcas, who finished an odious and disgusting contest, remarkable only for the cruelty and perfidy with which it was, on both sides, carried on. During the height of this domestic commotion, the mercenaries serving in Sardinia imitated those of the capital. They destroyed the Carthaginian traders, and were themselves destroyed or expelled by the indignant natives of the island. Among the expelled mercenaries, many were Campanians, whose return into Italy apprised the Romans of an opportunity highly seasonable for gaining possession of Sardinia. The conquest was easily effected; and when the Carthaginians armed with a view to recover their dependency, the threat of new hostilities on the part of Rome, made them not only cede all claim to the island, but consent to increase their stipulated contributions by the additional sum of 1200 talents⁶. Their tameness in submitting to such demands might be occasioned by the deep wounds which they had recently received in two successive wars. But long before this time, their government had begun to experience the factious discontents incident to tyrannical and jealous aristocracies⁷. Wealth was the great source of all public distinction; and the wealthy, who had engrossed every preferment and honour, were fearful of war, and jealous of popular generals: solicitous chiefly for their pecuniary interests, insensible to public renown and national glory, and careless, as we shall see, of any other victories and conquests, but those accompanied with the prospect of extending commerce and augmenting revenue.

Other
usurpa-
tions on
Carthage.

Such was the character of the greater number; but such was not that of Hamilcar Barcas. We have seen this general quit Sicily, frowning on the Romans for their pride, and on his own countrymen for their meanness. His successful termi-

Indigna-
tion of
Hamilcar
Barcas.

⁶ Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 88 and l. iii. c. 10. and Polybius, l. vi. c. 55. and Tit Liv. l. xxx. c. 40.

⁷ Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

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His com-
mand in
Spain, and
that of his
son-in-law
Asdrubal.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 4.—
exl. 1.
B. C. 237—
220.

nation of the war against the mercenaries, rendered it impossible for his enemies to discharge and dismiss his abilities with the occasion that had required them. He was sent to command in Spain, where the Carthaginians had long succeeded to the stubborn undertakings and bold enterprises of their Tyrian ancestors. The magistrates of Carthage flattered themselves with the hope of compensating late losses, by making the complete conquest of a country rich in the precious metals beyond every other in antiquity; and Hamilcar hoped in this command, which he should seem to have determined never to lay down, to form an army, qualified, as his country had now yielded its predominancy at sea, to attack the Romans by land, and to counterbalance their acquisitions in Sicily by a successful invasion of Italy. After nine years employed in extending the Carthaginian power and in creating a well disciplined force, he fell in an obscure battle with the natives⁸. His son-in-law Asdrubal assumed his place in the army, and was confirmed in it by the government of Carthage. During eight years, he prosecuted the designs of his predecessor, when he also was slain, still more ingloriously by the hand of a slave to avenge the blood of his master⁹. Besides great accessions of territory, acquired by policy¹⁰ as well as arms, Asdrubal's administration was signalized by building New Carthage¹¹, a city in the neighbourhood of rich mines, and admirably situate for commerce. His perpetual encroachments were viewed with much uneasiness by two Greek cities on the eastern coast, Emporia a colony of Massilia, and Saguntum a colony of Zacynthus¹². Like Apollonia on a similar occasion, Saguntum had recourse to Rome, and was soon afterwards admitted into confederacy with that commonwealth; which had bound Asdrubal¹³ by

⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1, 2.

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 21. and l. xxi. c. 2. and Polyb. l. ii. c. 36.

¹⁰ Polybius, *ibid.*

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 31.

¹² Strabo, l. iii. p. 110. Conf. Appian. de Reb. Punic. l. vii. c. 2.

¹³ Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 13. l. iii. c. 27.

treaty that he should not pass the river Iberus with an army, nor violate the security of her allies. We shall see how little these articles were respected by his successor Hannibal.

Meanwhile the Romans employed themselves in a highly honourable undertaking on the eastern side of the Hadriatic. The maritime districts ¹⁴ in Illyricum, united under a chief named Agron, began to create much terror by their boldness in piracy ¹⁵. The navies of Athens and Corinth were no more; Rhodes and Byzantium were remote; Egypt was at a still greater distance, and the war galleys, equipped by Ptolemy Philadelphus, had been allowed, through the carelessness of his successor, to rot in their harbours. Thus unawed by any Greek power, the Illyrian freebooters extended their depredations from the inmost recess of the Hadriatic to the southern extremity of Peloponnesus. Agron, who is styled king of the Illyrians, having finished by intemperance a life sustained by rapine, was succeeded by his queen Teuta, who exercised her authority by Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband, and Demetrius of Pharus, a small island on her coast inhabited by a Greek colony ¹⁶. Teuta was eager to prosecute the lucrative career that had opened to her country. Private corsairs were more numerous than ever; and a public armament, more considerable than any equipped by Agron, gained possession of Phænicè the most convenient seaport in Epirus. Complaints were brought to the Romans from both sides of the Hadriatic; from their subjects in Magna Græcia; from Epidamnus, Epidaurus, above all, Apollonia, their oldest ally in Illyricum.

Accordingly, an embassy was sent by the senate to remonstrate with queen Teuta against the obnoxious proceedings of her people. The ambassadors, two Coruncanii, found the queen engaged in the siege of Issa, and with difficulty obtained an audience, in the progress of which, Teuta displayed much impatience and haughtiness. When their discourse

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Depredations of
Illyrian pirates.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 2
—4.
B. C. 231
—229.

Teuta, queen of the Illyrians, causes the assassination of a Roman ambassador.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 4.
B. C. 229.

¹⁴ Those of the Taulantii, Ardyæi, Liburni, &c. Thucyd. Strabo, Polybius, and Appian. Illyric.

¹⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2. & seq.

¹⁶ From the isle of Paros. Diodor. l. xv. s. 13.

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was ended, she replied coldly, "that the Romans should not, she trusted, have reason to complain of any public injury; but that it was not customary with the kings of Illyricum to restrain their subjects from profiting individually by the sea." The younger of the brothers, Lucius Coruncanius, already piqued at her disdainful behaviour, replied sharply, "but it is customary with the Romans to exact public reparation for private wrongs, and in all cases to right the injured. With the help of the gods! we shall therefore reform the kingly maxims of Illyricum." The pride of Teuta was unable to brook such language: she dismissed the ambassadors from her presence; and knowing no bounds in her resentment, pursued them in their way home, and destroyed by assassins the speaker of the words by which she deemed herself insulted ¹⁷.

Successful
war against
her by the
consuls Ful-
vius and
Posthumi-
us. Olymp.
cxxxvii. 4.
B. C. 229.

The Romans learned with much indignation this daring affront to the majesty of their commonwealth. They levied troops, and hastened to equip a fleet. Before they arrived in Illyricum, Teuta had made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the city of Epidamnus. Her arms were more fortunate at Corcyra. Demetrius of Pharos was left with a garrison to maintain this important conquest, while the greater part of the troops returned to Epidamnus, in order to resume their operations against that valuable harbour. Another body of Illyrians still carried on the siege of Issa. Such the consul Fulvius found the situation of affairs when he crossed the Hadriatic with two hundred ships of war. But he found also that disgusts had arisen between Demetrius of Pharos and his imperious mistress. This discovery made him direct his course for Corcyra. Demetrius welcomed his arrival, and surrendered to him the garrison with which he had been intrusted. The Corcyrians also received him with open arms, hoping, through help from the Romans, to be delivered from the yoke of the Illyrians ¹⁸.

¹⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2—8.

¹⁸ Id. l. ii. c. 9. & seq.

The defection of Demetrius ruined the affairs of Teuta. He accompanied Fulvius to Apollonia, and strenuously co-operated with him in all his measures. Shortly afterwards, the consul Posthumius arrived also at Apollonia, with 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The combined strength of the consuls brought relief successively to Epidamnus and Issa; and caused the sieges of these places to be raised. At Issa, a part of the besieging army revolted to Demetrius. Under his guidance, the Romans invaded the maritime parts of Illyricum, and received all the more valuable districts into their protection. Queen Teuta, with a handful of forces, was compelled to retire inland to a stronghold called Rizon, watered by a river of the same name. The Romans rewarded the services of Demetrius by annexing such extensive territories to his little island of Pharus, as made him a considerable potentate on the eastern shore of the Hadriatic. The consul Fulvius then returned to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and army. His colleague Posthumius retained only forty ships, and wintered in Illyricum with a small body of troops, reinforced by levies in that country¹⁹.

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Early in the spring, Teuta anticipated further proceedings against her, by a suppliant embassy to Rome. She stipulated to cede all her dominions, a few places, and those of small importance, excepted; to pay tribute even for the little that was left her; and never to navigate beyond Lissus, her most southern harbour, in more than two vessels, and those unarmed. These conditions being admitted by the senate, the consul Posthumius notified to the principal states of Greece, then living in peace under the virtuous control of Antigonus Doson, the beginning and conclusion of a war, which so nearly concerned them. A bare recital of facts, formed the highest panegyric of the Romans. They had avenged the violated laws of heralds, deemed of all things the most sacred; they had punished pirates whose enormities were openly professed and insultingly vindicated; and they had redu-

Teuta submits and pays tribute for the narrow dominions left to her. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B. C. 228.

The first embassy of the Romans to the states of Greece. Olymp. cxxxviii. 1. B. C. 228.

¹⁹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 11. & seq.

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ced to the lowest humiliation a state rising fast in power, and marking every step of its progress by new aggravations of outrage. The Achæans, Etolians, Athenians, Corinthians, all vied with each other in their respectful treatment of the first Roman ambassadors that ever appeared in Ancient¹⁹ Greece. The Corinthians admitted them to the Isthmian games, then ready to be celebrated, and even conferred on the Romans the right of participating thenceforward in a solemnity, till then exclusively appropriated to the Grecian name²⁰.

Depredations of the Illyrians under Demetrius and Scerdilaidas. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. cxi. 1. B. C. 222—220.

For seven years after this period, the Illyrians were entitled to the comparative praise of committing few injuries. Queen Teuta abdicated her government, in favour of Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband. Scerdilaidas, as successor to Teuta, was bound by treaty, and Demetrius of Pharus was bound by fealty and gratitude, to respect the commands imposed on them by Rome. But when the Romans were infested by those Gallic inroads, which ended only four years before the commencement of the second Punic war, and which made them muster and employ their whole forces in Italy, Demetrius and Scerdilaidas, presuming on impunity, began to collect ships, and renew their depredations. Demetrius, in particular, plundered the Roman allies, or subjects in Illyricum, and subdued several of their cities²¹: and then uniting with Scerdilaidas, sailed beyond Issus with seventy armed vessels, and extended his ravages to the lesser islands of the Ægean. The Rhodians, indeed, prepared to restrain these enormities; but the Greeks on the continent, having engaged in the social war, were less solicitous about extirpating the Illyrian pirates, than desirous of obtaining their dishonourable aid in distressing each other²².

The consul
Emilius
sails to Illyricum

Meanwhile the Romans saw that a second conflict with Carthage was inevitable, though they little imagined that

¹⁹ The Romans were masters of the continental part of Magna Græcia, and already connected by embassies with Apollonia a Greek eo-

lony, and Egypt a Greek conquest.

²⁰ Polybius, l. ii. c. 12.

²¹ Id. l. iii. c. 16.

²² Id. l. iv. c. 16.

Hannibal would have commenced hostilities so soon by taking Saguntum, and then carrying his arms into Italy. They determined therefore to employ the present interval of tranquillity in chastising the defection of Demetrius, and thereby maintaining that sort of authority, which resulted from their valour and renown, among the nations east of the Adriatic. Without any formal declaration of war against a rebel who, to his other odious crimes, added the blackest ingratitude, the consul Emilius sailed with a powerful armament to Illyricum. Demetrius anticipated the arrival of the enemy, by destroying all those of his subjects whose resentment he dreaded, and then committing his inferior cities to persons in whom he put most trust, reinforced his two principal strongholds of Dimalus on the continent, and Pharos in the island of the same name, with such supplies of men, provisions, and military stores, as might enable them to resist a long siege. Emilius began the war by making approaches to Dimalus on various sides at once, and gained it by storm on the seventh day. The inferior places in the neighbourhood all submitted through terror; but Demetrius with six thousand chosen men had thrown himself into Pharos. The consul, upon sailing thither and examining the place, perceived that a regular siege must be attended with much delay and many difficulties. He therefore chose a dark night for sending into the island the greater part of his troops, who concealed themselves till morning, in hollow dens thickly covered with wood. At dawn, he appeared off the harbour with twenty vessels; the Illyrians rushed from their gates to obstruct his landing; as the battle grew warm, new numbers flocked from Pharos to support those already engaged with the enemy, until nearly the whole of the Illyrians had quitted the defence of their walls. At this crisis, the Romans emerged from their ambush, and seized a strong post between the deserted city and the scene of action round the harbour. Demetrius suddenly changed his front and courageously assailed those newly discovered adversaries. But he was routed and put to flight; a few of his men gained the

CHAP.
XVI.and expels
Demetrius
of Pharos
from that
country.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

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city; many reached, by difficult paths, secret lurking places in the island: he himself escaped to a brigantine, which his guilty fears made him keep always ready for sea on a desert part of the coast, and in which he instantly embarked, to fly from his country and the Romans, to whom the taking of Dimalus and Pharus gave possession of all Illyricum²³. Scerdilaidas, we know, was pardoned and afterwards protected by the victors; but what regulations they made for deriving benefit to themselves from the conquest, or in what manner, and under what conditions, the territory was divided among their allies, history does not record.

Demetrius
of Pharus
flies to king
Philip.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

Demetrius of Pharus sought refuge with king Philip, to whom his valour and misfortunes failed not to recommend him²⁴. His vessel found that of the young prince on the Ambracian gulph, Philip being then on his way homeward to prepare for his famous expedition into Etolia²⁵. Demetrius, at the king's desire, sailed to Corinth, and thence proceeded through Thessaly to Macedon. There, he was admitted into the number of the king's friends; and, as with his trade of a corsair, he could seasonably intermix the arts of a courtier, he gradually acquired a great and pernicious ascendancy over the Macedonian councils. His influence is said to have occasioned the rapacious and sacrilegious proceedings at Thermum; for Philip's great youth made his behaviour peculiarly liable to be moulded at will by his favourites, who stamped it alternately with the impressions of their opposite characters. Whenever he quitted the honourable path chalked out to him by Aratus and Chrysogonus, and behaved either cruelly to his enemies, or imperiously to his allies, men knew by whose sentiments he had been guided as surely as if they had overheard his deliberations. The unfeeling Taurion, the unprincipled Demetrius, villains who defied alike censure and danger, were known in such cases to be his advisers²⁶.

²³ Polybius, l. iii. c. 18. Conf.
l. iv. c. 37. 66. l. xxxii. c. 19.

²⁴ Id. *ibid*.

²⁵ See above, c. xv. p. 84.

²⁶ Polybius, l. v. c. 12. Conf. l. ix.
c. 23.

At the instigation chiefly of Demetrius, Philip involved himself in hostilities with Rome and her allies, which lasted for a period of twenty years, but of which the longest portion is eclipsed in history, being contemporary with the second war between the Romans and Carthaginians, more properly called the war of Hannibal, since that general should seem to have undertaken it without the authority of his country²⁷, and certainly carried it on without any assistance from Carthage.

CHAP.
XVI.

Encourages him to make war on the Romans.

From his earliest years Hannibal had been inspired with relentless hatred to the Romans; the daring views of Hamilcar had been opened to him²⁸, and the vengeful soul of the father revived in the son, and flamed in his fiery breast with new intensity. During three years, he served under Asdrubal in Spain, the terror of the Spanish enemy, the idol of the Carthaginian army; by which, on the death of its general, he was called to the chief command. His preferment was ratified at Carthage: to dispute it would only have shown the weakness of that government. Master of an army disciplined in seventeen campaigns, he speedily completed the conquest of all Spain south of the Iberus, except the single Greek city Saguntum. This place he next invested with an army, it is said, 150,000 strong. The Saguntines defended themselves eight months with equal skill and bravery; and when the sack of their city seemed inevitable, endeavoured, by destroying their most precious effects, to render the conquest of little value. Hannibal, however, recovered much gold and silver, highly useful to him in his transactions with the Gauls, who lay on his road to Italy. He saved also much elegant furniture, and much valuable merchandise, which, being useless to himself, he transported into Carthage. The inhabitants of Saguntum were either put to the sword, or divided as slaves among his soldiers²⁹.

Hannibal sacks Saguntum. Olymp. cxi. 2. B. C. 219.

²⁷ Fabius apud Polyb. l. iii. c. 8.

²⁸ Id. l. iii. c. 11.

²⁹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 4. et seq. et Polybius, l. iii. c. 13. et seq.

CHAP.
XVI.

Crosses the
Alps into
Italy.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

After this bloody prelude, he went into winter quarters in New Carthage. The spring recalled him to the field: his brother Asdrubal was appointed to command in Spain; and, after all fit preparations, Hannibal undertook his long projected invasion of Italy. In the space of five months, he advanced from New Carthage to the foot of the Alps. In fifteen days, he crossed these mountains³⁰. From characteristic circumstances³¹, specified in the military historian Polybius, his march over the Alps should seem to have lain through Chambery, Montmelian, Montier, and the little St. Bernard. It extended above a hundred miles in direct distance, from the commencement of the ascent at a place called Echelles, to Ivrière, the ancient Eporedia, near to which the mountains first open into the great northern plain of Italy. This plain Hannibal entered with an army reduced to 20,000 infantry and 6,000 horse; part of forty elephants which he had taken with him also remained. They had rewarded his trouble in conducting them over so many obstacles, by the terror which their formidable appearance in armour inspired into the barbarous nations on his route³².

Military
resources
of that
country.

With this inconsiderable force he had invaded a country, the circumstances of which might have deterred from such an undertaking even the most romantic valour. Seven years before his expedition, the Romans had been alarmed by those tumultuary³³ movements among the Gauls on both sides of the Alps, which made them enter into a computation of the whole of their own strength in Italy; citizens, subjects, or allies. It amounted to 700,000 infantry and 70,000 horse³⁴. The citizens alone fit to bear arms exceeded 250,000.

³⁰ Polybius, l. iii. c. 56.

³¹ Particularly the λευκοπετρον οχυρον, c. 51, now La Roche Blanche, two marches from Montier; and the necessity of making the passage practicable at three marches from the plain of Eporedia, τον κρημνον εξωκοδομησιν μετα πολλης ταλαιπωριας, c. 55. At La Thuille (a corruption of Haute ville, as appears on comparing maps), agreeing with this dis-

tance, the road is still annually repaired with pine planks. These observations I owe to my friend General Melville, who examined the ground, with a view to the illustration of this celebrated march.

³² Polyb. l. iii. c. 53.

³³ Gallici tumultus, Tit. Liv. passim.

³⁴ Id. l. ii. c. 24. Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. s. 5. et Tit. Liv. Epitom. lib. xx.

Accordingly, the Boii and Insubres, leagued with their brethren beyond the Alps, were totally defeated three years afterwards; stripped of their main stronghold Mediolanum, or Milan; and such of them as were permitted to remain in Italy, reduced to unconditional submission³⁴. The Romans had forces in Sicily, Sardinia, Illyricum, and particularly in the territory which Hannibal had invaded, constituting the Cisalpine Gaul.

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When apprised of the sack of Saguntum, Publius Scipio and Sempronius Longus, with their respective consular armies, were ordered, the former into Spain, the latter into Sicily: Scipio with 60 galleys, Sempronius with 220; for this great naval force seemed necessary for carrying the war into Africa. Scipio having touched at the long friendly emporium of Massilia, learned to his surprise that Hannibal was already in the country above a hundred miles north of him, preparing to pass the Rhone. Thither the consul hastened, but found that his adversary had crossed the river, and got the start of him by three days on his way to Italy. The consul Publius Scipio determined therefore to send part of the army with his brother Cneius into Spain, while the remainder embarked with himself, and sailed from Massilia to Pisa. From thence he marched northward, not doubting, after he had been reinforced by the troops in Cisalpine Gaul, to overwhelm the exhausted invaders, as they descended into that country from the Alps³⁵. The armies met at the river Ticinus. Hannibal's infantry, the hardened remnant of so many labours and dangers, might be superior to that of the enemy, comparatively a militia: he had brought it into a situation that left no alternative but victory or death. But the success of this battle is ascribed wholly to his cavalry³⁶. The consul was wounded; and his life narrowly saved by

Proceed-
ings of the
Consuls
Scipio and
Sempro-
nius.

Battles of
Ticinus
and Trebia.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

³⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 213. Polyb. l. iii. c. 40. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 39 & 40.

³⁵ Hannibal's war in Italy forms the most splendid portion of Livy's history. It runs through nine books,

l. xxi—xxx. The subject derives peculiar interest from the eloquence of the historian, as well as from the enterprise of his hero.

³⁶ Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 24 et seq. et Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

CHAP. XVI. the intrepidity of a son, then in his seventeenth year, the future conqueror of Carthage.

Of Trasimenus.
Olymp. cxl. 4.
B. C. 217.

Of Cannæ.
Olymp. cxl. 1.
B. C. 216.

Hannibal's unexpected invasion, his more incredible victory, allies prepared for defection, and subjects for rebellion, made the Romans recal the consul Sempronius from Sicily, after he had defeated a Carthaginian fleet, and was preparing to make a descent on Africa. In forty days, he joined his colleague on the river Trebia. A new battle was fought, in which Hannibal prevailed, through a well contrived ambush³⁷. Next year he crossed the Apennines, and drew the Consul Flaminius into a snare, on the intricate banks of the lake Trasimenus in Tuscany, in which that rash commander perished, with the greater part of his army³⁸. Having thus gained an ascendancy in the north by the battles of Ticinus and Trebia, and in the central district of Tuscany, by the battle of Trasimenus, he next year marched southward to Apulia, and surpassed all these exploits in his tremendous victory at Cannæ, by which the vengeance was satiated long brooding in the family of Barcas. The consuls Emilius and Varro had 80,000 foot: Hannibal's infantry had now augmented to 40,000; and his cavalry, so diligent had he been to increase it, now surpassed in number that of the Romans. By advancing his Gauls and other auxiliaries in a crescent, with its convexity towards the enemy, while its horns rested on two wings of his own hardy veterans, he brought on a battle in which his center, giving way to the Romans, the pursuers were attacked on both flanks by his veterans, and lost above fifty thousand men. The Carthaginian cavalry greatly contributed to the destructiveness of the rout. The consul Emilius was slain; 10,000 Romans guarding the camp, were made prisoners: only seventy horsemen escaped with Varro to Venusia³⁹.

³⁷ Polyb. l. iii. c. 69 & seq. & l. xxii. c. 4.

Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 54—56.

³⁹ Polyb. l. iii. c. 115 & seq. Tit.

³⁸ Polyb. l. iii. c. 84. Tit. Liv. Liv. xxii. c. 47 & seq.

Battles less memorable have overturned many a powerful kingdom; but even these confirmed the stability of the Roman commonwealth. Hannibal was indeed master of the open country, but in that age most cities in Italy were well fortified; some garrisoned by the Romans, the greater part defended by the bravery of their own citizens. The consul Varro assumed a commanding attitude at Venusia: Naples defied Hannibal from its walls: and he received a check from Marcellus in attempting Nola⁴⁰. A better hope was founded on alienating, under the plausible pretence of liberty, the Roman subjects or allies. But the higher orders of men, in almost every dependent community, remained unalterably firm in their allegiance, and overawed sedition from within, while they manfully prepared to repel hostility from without⁴¹. Capua, the most shameless city of Campania, itself the most profligate district in all Italy, is thought to have done a real service to the Romans, by opening its gates to the invaders⁴². But had these invaders kept unsullied the supposed purity of their virtue, the ultimate issue of the conflict would not probably have been different. For Rome, according to the just comparison of Pyrrhus, was endowed with the renovating qualities of the Hydra⁴³. An armed people, habituated from earliest youth to military exercises, afforded an inexhaustible supply of recruits; and the decree, investing every Roman who had borne the office of consul with temporary command, provided the immediate assistance of able generals. Though Hannibal remained thirteen years longer in Italy, where Gauls in the north, and Greeks in the south, often cooperated with him as allies, he gained not any fresh laurels. The Romans had sent Publius Scipio to reinforce his brother Cneius in Spain. They employed armies in Sicily, Sardinia, and the countries beyond the Hadriatic. Their exertions abroad, were not interrupted by the dangers threatening at home; and when, five years after the battle of Cannæ,

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Hannibal's
subsequent
war in Ita-
ly. Causes
that made
it unsuc-
cessful.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.—
cxliv. 2.
B. C 216—
203.

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 16.⁴¹ Idem. l. xxiii. c. 20.⁴² Ibid. c. 18.⁴³ Plutarch in Pyrrho

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Hannibal, in hopes of raising the siege of Capua, marched suddenly to surprise Rome, he found three armies in order of battle prepared to receive him. Having encamped on the banks of the Anio, scarcely four miles distant, he learned that the ground occupied by his army had brought its full value at a public auction, and that a body of Romans had marched through an opposite gate of the city, to reinforce the legions in Spain⁴⁴. Yet in this long warfare, Hannibal's admirable abilities gave the Romans no opportunity of combating him with advantage. When they endeavoured to force him into action, they were generally losers by the attempt; but the system of procrastination and caution succeeded with them far better; and Fabius Maximus, who had first adopted it, was extolled to the skies as the saviour of his country⁴⁵.

Philip's
league with
Hannibal,
and prepa-
rations.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

A few months after the battle of Cambræ, Philip of Macedon, at the instigation of Demetrius of Pharos, adopted three very decisive measures. He entered into an intimate alliance with Hannibal, including the states friendly to both parties, and ratified by awful invocations of the gods of Macedon and Carthage⁴⁶. He began to build armed transports on the Illyrian model, as the fittest for conveying forces into Italy; and he attacked Scerdilaidas, the Roman ally, in Illyricum, and in a short time divested him of the greater part of his possessions⁴⁷.

Death of
Hieron of
Syracuse.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

Shortly after Hannibal had cemented his league with Philip, the Romans lost a zealous friend in Hieron of Syracuse, who died in his 96th year, amidst strenuous exertions to suppress defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily. From the close of the first Punic war, that island had remained very unequally divided between Rome and her Syracusan

⁴⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 11.

Apud Cicer. de Offic. l. i. c. 24.

⁴⁵ Unus homo nobis cunctando
restituit rem.

& Plutarch Fab. Maxim.

Non ponebat enim rumores
ante salutem

⁴⁶ Polyb. l. iii. c. 2, & l. vii. c. 9.

⁴⁷ Id. l. v. c. 108.

Ergo postque, magisque viri
nunc gloria claret. Ennius.

ally. The dominion of Syracuse was confined to a narrow strip of land, stretching about fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, from Achræ to Tauromenium, and comprehending these frontier towns, together with several other places of note, particularly Leontium, Megara, and Elorus. But the government of Hieron, and his admirable management of his little territory, affords, as it were, a delightful resting place in our painful journey through scenes of perfidy and cruelty, of relentless ambition, and insatiable vengeance. His government was formed on the fairest model of the heroic age; the senate was called to deliberate, and the assembly to decide, while Gelon, the son of Hieron, himself in the maturity of years, cooperated in perfect cordiality with his father in the control and execution of all public measures⁴⁸. Hieron had wisely chosen his party between Rome and Carthage, but when the latter state was threatened with total ruin in the war above mentioned, with her own mercenaries, he employed his utmost endeavours to serve and save her; deeming the existence of Carthage essential to the independence of Syracuse, since the destruction of that republic would have laid him altogether at the mercy of Rome⁴⁹. When Rome, on the other hand, seemed ready to sink under the impetuous shocks of Ticinus and Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannæ, Hieron spared neither gold nor blood to support her. His fleet and army were at the disposal of his allies; and the money, which he chiefly supplied, enabled the pretor Valerius seasonably to cross the Hadriatic, and to find such employment, at home, for king Philip, as rendered the alliance of that prince of little importance to Hannibal⁵⁰.

The vast wealth of Hieron flowed from the purest sources. He was the strenuous promoter of productive and commercial industry. The improvement of agriculture, the most

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His wise
policy at
home and
abroad.

Fortifica-
tions of Sy-
racuse.

⁴⁸ Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 88. l. vii. ⁵⁰ Idem l. iii. c. 75. Conf. Tit. c. 8, & Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 4, & seq. Liv. l. xxii. c. 37.

⁴⁹ Polybius, l. i. c. 83.

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profitable of all occupations, especially in such a country as Sicily, he forwarded by judicious regulations, by still more useful examples, and by wise and salutary precepts, contained in many valuable treatises which he wrote on that subject⁵¹. The best blessings of peace he made permanent, by a constant preparation for war; and in an age, when skill in sieges kept not pace with other branches of military science, the vast extent of Syracuse was made on all sides impregnable. In this undertaking he was assisted by the great Archimedes, his friend, some say his kinsman, who, at the king's earnest desire, descended from those sublime speculations which occupied the Newton of antiquity, and applied his wonderful powers of combination and invention to matters of coarse mechanical practice⁵². But of his extraordinary contrivances for the defence of Syracuse, there was not any occasion to make use in the long course of this politic and pacific reign.

Hieron's
galley of 20
tier of oars.

The prosperity of every Greek city was marked by a superabundance of inestimable productions in all the arts of design. The architectural embellishments of Syracuse were regarded among the brightest glories of Hieron's administration: he was distinguished by his magnificence⁵³ in religious games and solemnities, particularly in dramatic exhibitions; and so catching are the follies of our own times, that Hieron vied with contemporary Greek kings in constructing and equipping a galley of twenty tier of oars, uniting the strength of a fortress with all the conveniencies and elegancies of a royal palace. This moving castle, which Sicilian poets likened to mount *Ætna*, consumed the timber necessary for building sixty trireme galleys. It was compacted by iron bolts, weighing ten and fifteen pounds: its engines launched balls of 300 pounds to the distance of a furlong: one of its masts is said to have been transported

⁵¹ Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3.

⁵³ Athenæus, l. v. p. 205.

⁵² Plutarch in Marcello.

from the mountains of Britain⁵⁴; its cordage was composed of broom from Spain and hemp from Gaul: the commerce of the world was ransacked for its ornaments; ivory images of the gods, altars glowing with gems and breathing Indian perfumes; the marbles and more precious materials inlaying its lowest floor, and curiously disposed in mosaic, representing Homer's battles. This prodigy of ill directed art, for whose safe passage Neptune is tremblingly⁵⁵ invoked by the poet, was built by Archias of Corinth, and launched on the waves by Phileas of Tauromenium; and is said to have been navigated from the harbour of Syracuse to that of Alexandria, as a present to Ptolemy Philadelphus, being, indeed, less absurdly adapted to the navigation of the Nile⁵⁶.

Hieron, dying at the age of ninety-six, was succeeded by a youth of seventeen, born to his son Gelon by Nereis, daughter to Pyrrhus⁵⁷. Hieronymus, for this was his name, is described as a prey to the vilest passions, but possessing a will of his own, and an ear open to contrariety of counsel. To this youth, who disdained submission to those naturally entitled to guide him, Hannibal sent Epicydes and Hippocrates, brothers, whose father, a native of Syracuse, had long lived in exile at Carthage. These men were agents in all respects worthy of their employer; bold, dexterous, deceitful; with resources in every difficulty, with intrepidity in every danger. At their persuasion, Hieronymus embraced measures highly offensive to the Romans, and when ambassadors came from that people to remonstrate with him, asked insultingly to hear from them a more accurate account, than had yet, he said, reached his ears of the battle of Cannæ⁵⁸. The cruelty and contumely of Hieronymus provoked a conspiracy of his subjects, to which, after a reign of scarcely one

Reign of Hieronymus and distractions consequent on it. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

⁵⁴ Is. Casaubon, however, reads *εν τοις ορεισι της Βριττίας*, in the mountains of the Brutii. *Animadvers. in Athen.* l. v. p. 229.

⁵⁵ *ἄλλα ποσειδων σωζει κατα γλαυκων*

σιλμα τοδε ροβιων. Archimelus Atheniensis apud Athen. l. v. p. 209.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 207. & seq.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. vii. c. 4.

⁵⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 6.

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year, he fell a sacrifice. The Syracusans were summoned to liberty: the ancient form of democracy returned with all its tumult and outrage; and one revolution succeeded to another, until the brothers, sent by Hannibal, made their way to supreme power by a series of lies and forgeries; of dark intrigues and daring assassinations⁵⁹. This state of affairs occasioned the memorable siege of Syracuse which lasted nearly three years, and the event of which gave to the consul Marcellus possession of a city computed to be richer⁶⁰ than Carthage itself; besides that the complete reduction of Sicily, the natural consequence of his success, prepared the way for the Roman expedition into Africa, and the humiliation of Carthage into the state of a disarmed and tributary vassal.

Philip's
unworthy
proceed-
ings.
Olymp.
cxli. 3.
B. C. 214.

Meanwhile Philip, in conformity to his treaty with Hannibal, had equipped a fleet of a hundred Liburnians, in which he purposed to transport forces from Illyricum into Italy. But false intelligence communicated by some Sicilian merchantmen, that a squadron of Roman quinqueremes was ready to oppose his passage, determined him to sail back into harbour. Enraged at the deceit practised on him, and the loss of an opportunity of cooperating with his ally, his light and fiery mind, yet untamed by adversity, vented its ungoverned anger in proceedings as frantic as they were detestable. His general in Peloponnesus, in contravention to the peace recently established, seized the mountainous fortress Ithomè, commanding the Messenian capital⁶¹. Demetrius of Pharus said, that this was to hold the bull of Peloponnesus by the two horns; meaning thereby the Acro-Corinthus in the north and Ithomè in the south. But Aratus pleaded so strongly the cause of Messenè and of justice, that the king was prevailed on to let slip his victim. Shortly afterwards, he repented of his forbearance, and sent Demetrius to assault and recover the strong-hold. The undertaking was as rashly conducted, as it had been wickedly concerted. Demetrius was repelled and slain; and Philip avenged the death of a

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 7—27. ⁶⁰ Id. l. xxv. c. 31. ⁶¹ Polybius, l. vii. c. 12

man so undeservedly dear to him, by merciless depredation on the Messenian territory, and by poisoning Aratus, whose honest remonstrances were no longer tolerable to a tyrant⁶².

His instrument in this crime was the infamous Taurion, who had long been intrusted with his affairs in the Peloponnesus. Aratus bore the incurable effects of the poison with a composure worthy of his great character. The Achæans, over whom he presided, as pretor for the seventeenth time, did not even suspect the cause of his declining health, which he never hinted at in public, though to Cephalaon a confidential friend who lamented at seeing him spit blood, "such," he said, "my dear Cephalaon, are the fruits of royal gratitude!" His country made every compensation in its power for the execrable perfidy which he had experienced. He was interred at Sicyon with unfeigned expressions of public sorrow; and all Achaia long joined with that city in commemorating his fame by rites held due to the most illustrious public benefactors⁶³.

After the death of Demetrius of Pharus, his great adviser in the Roman war, Philip should seem to have adopted the resolution of first making himself completely master of Illyricum, before he ventured to pass into Italy. In this view, he besieged Oricum, and gained possession of that seaport, which stood directly opposite to Hadruntum, on the narrowest part of the Strait. He was on the point also of taking Apollonia, the oldest Roman ally beyond the Hadriatic; when the pretor Valerius crossed that sea with a strong armament, recovered Oricum in which Philip had left but a feeble garrison; and then proceeding with silence and celerity to Apollonia, threw himself by an obscure path into the place, with a chosen detachment. His presence encouraged the Apollonians to attack the besieging army in the night. The enterprise was conducted with such secrecy and boldness, that even the royal pavilion was in danger. The Mace-

CHAP.
XVI.

Death of
Aratus.
Olymp.
cxli. 4.
B. C. 213.

The pretor
Valerius
obliges
Philip to
raise the
siege of
Apollonia.
Olymp.
cxli. 3.
B. C. 214.

⁶² Polybius, l. iii. c. 14.

⁶³ Plutarch in Arato. Faint testimonies, *δευνὰ μίση*, of the hon-

ours once paid to him subsisted three centuries after his death. - Plut. p. 1052.

CHAP.
XVI.

Philip's
conquests
in Illyri-
cum.
Olymp.
exli. 3.
B. C. 214.

donians fled in precipitation; three thousand of them were slain or taken; their camp became a booty to the Romans; only the battering engines were granted to the Apollonians, that the same machines which had been constructed against them, might thenceforward be employed in their defence⁶⁴.

The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum and Apollonia, and left these places so well guarded, that Philip, after more vigorous preparations than formerly, thought proper to direct his arms against a different part of the coast. Lissus and its citadel Acro-Lissus stood an hundred miles north of Apollonia. They were deemed the most important and strongest places in the whole country. Philip gained both, by a stratagem well concerted and boldly executed. At the foot of Acro-Lissus, and between this fortress and the city, there was a hollow den overhung by thick wood: the remainder of the space between the city and citadel consisted of plain ground, well adapted to the approaches of besiegers. In the den, just mentioned, Philip had the address to plant an ambush of chosen men. The day afterwards, he proceeded with his light forces into the plain, as if he had intended to take measures for advancing his machines against the city. The troops and armed inhabitants in Lissus sallied from their gates: Philip gave way; the men, who garrisoned Acro-Lissus, hastened to join their companions in the pursuit; but had no sooner advanced beyond the den at the foot of that fortress, than the Macedonians rose from their ambush, and clambering over some adjacent craggs, took possession of the deserted citadel. Philip, at the same time turned unexpectedly on his pursuers, and drove them back in dismay to Lissus. That city was taken after repeated assaults, in which the king showed not less skill than courage: and the fame of such conquests intimidated most cities in Illyricum into a voluntary surrender⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40

⁶⁵ Polybius, l. viii. c. 15. & seq:

Philip thus deprived the Romans of their conquests in that country; but, before he could entirely subdue it to himself, his politic adversaries gained over him a very decided advantage in negotiation. CHAP.
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This was a treaty which the pretor Valerius entered into with the Etolians, including all allies of the contracting parties. In consequence of this agreement, copies of which were inscribed in Jupiter's temple at Olympia, and in the Roman capitol⁶⁶, Philip's designs against Italy were completely defeated through his necessity of encountering the same Grecian enemies with whom he had contended in the social war, the Etolians, Elians, and Spartans; in addition to these, the Messenians recently incensed by his wanton cruelties. Treaty between the Romans and Etolians. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B. C. 212.

Meanwhile, Hannibal received not any succours from Carthage. A reinforcement of forty elephants and 4,000 Numidian horse had been, indeed, voted to him; but before this supply could be got ready to sail, its destination was changed from Italy to Spain⁶⁷, in which latter country, his brother Asdrubal was now hardly pressed by the Scipios. Not only Spain, in which they had so many lucrative establishments, but even Sicily, in which, upon the commotions following the death of Hieron and the destruction of his family, they hoped once more to recover their ascendancy, appeared to the Carthaginians a scene of action more inviting than Italy, the theatre of great but unprofitable victories. To foment defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily, considerable armies had been already sent from Carthage; and these were speedily increased, when it was understood that the Syracusans, abused by the audacious artifices of Epicydes and Hippocrates, had violated their long peace with Rome, and set the resentment of that state at defiance⁶⁸. The consul Marcellus, who had by this time reinforced the pretor Appius hitherto commanding in Sicily, immediately concerted with him the fittest means for besieging Syracuse by sea and land. Events that caused the siege of Syracuse. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

⁶⁸ Id. l. xxiv. c. 27—33.

⁶⁷ Id. l. xxiii. c. 13, & 32.

CHAP.

Descrip-
tion of that
city.

To explain clearly the events which happened in the course of this undertaking, it is necessary briefly to advert to the general plan of Syracuse, and to the distribution of the various parts of that great and rich city. It stood on a headland, projecting in the form of a triangle from the eastern coast of Sicily. The base advanced into the sea, which flowed a considerable way up the sides. These sides extended westward over the craggy eminences Epipolæ, gradually approaching each other until they finally united in the rock Euryelus, forming the vertex of the triangle. Disposed in a shape, similar to that of the island of which it was the capital, Syracuse measured eighteen miles in circuit, and contained five divisions, deserving each of them the name of city, in point of strength as well as magnitude. The largest division, called Acradina, formed the basis of the triangle, its outward wall washed by the sea. The little island Ortygia lay before the southern extremity of Acradina, forming with it two harbours, one on either side of the island: the two next divisions, the more northern called Tycha, and the southern Neapolis, bordered on Acradina, only separated from it by walls. The last, and most inland division, consisted of the craggy eminences Epipolæ: a quarter taken within the city for the sake chiefly of security, with the rock Euryelus above mentioned, towering at its extremity, and frowning in defiance over the circumjacent country⁶⁹.

Operations
against it.
Olymp.
cxli. 3.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 214—
212.

In the space of five days, Appius, with incredible diligence, had provided whatever seemed necessary for the siege by land; but the first memorable attack appears to have been made by Marcellus against Acradina with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes. Not trusting to the stones and javelins thrown from single vessels for clearing the enemies' walls, he joined two quinqueremes together, by their respective sides, and covered them with a strong floor of wood. On this floor, he applied a huge ladder, provided on either side with balu-

⁶⁹ For the dimensions and divisions of Syracuse, see Thucyd. l. vi. Strabo, l. vi. Cicero in Verr. l.

iv. Few great cities are so distinctly described.

strades, and having at one end a firm stage encompassed with parapets. As this double quinquereme approached the walls, the ladder was raised aloft, and propped as it rose by beams of various lengths; so that the soldiers might safely mount it, and having reached the stage at top, drive the enemy from their battlements. This machine received the name of Sackbut, because it nearly resembled in shape this triangular harp; the swelling base of the instrument being represented by the joined quinqueremes; its sides and strings respectively, by the sloping ladder, and the various props by which it was supported⁷⁰.

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Now an opportunity offered to Archimedes, for displaying, in all its powers, the wonderful machinery which, at the desire of king Hieron, he had erected. His philosophical mind, if insensible to personal glory, was not to that of his art. Syracuse, indeed, had fallen into bad hands; but he would still exert his abilities in defence of his country. Perhaps he was duped by the artifices through which Epicydes and Hippocrates had irritated the public mind against the Romans; a geometer is not the best judge in matters depending on moral evidence. But whatever motive determined him; glory, patriotism, the delusions, or even the threats of the unworthy usurpers of Syracuse, it is certain that his abilities long retarded, and might, but for events against which the utmost skill in defence could not avail, have ultimately defeated the operations against that unfortunate city. He had engines fitted to all distances: the hostile armament was battered while yet a furlong from the walls, and when the enemy waited darkness to make his approaches more safely, huge beaks projecting beyond the battlements, at the slightest touch of a cord, precipitated masses of stone and metal, weighing, many of them, ten talents⁷⁰. By such means, the sackbuts, four in number, were broken in pieces, while any single vessels, that ventured to come near, were grappled by iron hands, and on the quarter seized, being raised to a fit height, suddenly replunged in the sea with destructive vio-

Its wonderful defence.

⁷⁰ Polybius, l. viii. c. 6—8.

⁷⁰ lb. 600.

CHAP. XVI. lence⁷¹. Appius was not more successful in his assaults by

⁷¹ Polybius ubi supra. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell. Marcellus jested at this rude reception, saying, that his ships were entertained with brimful goblets, while the *sackbuts* were pelted with stones and driven disgracefully from the feast. Polyb. l. v. c. 37. The joke lies in the equivocal word *sackbut*, denoting not only the musical instrument, but the girl who played on it. Such girls were rudely dismissed when they displeased either by their music or their manners. I have not mentioned the burning glasses by which Archimedes is said to have destroyed the Roman fleet. Zonaras and Tzetzes, to whom we owe this report, lived 14 centuries after the siege of Syracuse; and are discredited by the silence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. The verses of Tzetzes, Chil. ii. v. 119. and seq. are obscure and barbarous; they suggested, however, to Father Kircher the idea, that the effect ascribed to Archimedes' burning glasses, might be produced by a combination of plain mirrors: with 400 of which, so arranged as to reflect their heat on the same object, Buffon succeeded in the experiment of melting lead and tin at the distance of 140 feet. Mem. de L'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1746. Archimedes needs not the glory of this and other doubtful inventions, to support his fame: it rests on "the sphere and cylinder," the admirable work "on spiral lines;" and two other treatises, "*περί επιπέδων ισορροπιῶν* and "*περί οχυμένων*," in which he explains the true principles of statics and hydrostatics. Conf. Fabric. Bibliothec. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. and Montucla Histoire des Mathematiques, part i. Liv. iv. In the treatise *περί οχυμένων*, we find principles affording the solution of the famous question referred to him concerning the composition of Hieron's crown. The ar-

tist, instead of making this elegant piece of workmanship of pure gold, as the king had desired, combined in it a large proportion of inferior metal. To find the quantities of each, Archimedes provided two masses, of gold, another of the inferior metal; and each of the same weight with the crown. He then weighed these masses in water, to discover what proportions of their weight they respectively lost. The gold, he knew, being the more compact, would lose the least; because any body is less heavy in water, by the weight of a quantity of water equal to its own bulk. Having thus ascertained the parts of their weight lost respectively by the gold, the inferior metal, and the composite crown, it was easy to perceive that the quantity of gold in the composition must bear the same proportion to that of the inferior metal, as the difference of weights lost by the crown and inferior metal to the difference of weights lost by the crown and the gold. Another method of solving the same question is given by Vitruvius de Architect. l. ix. c. 3. It is that copied in all complements, though less ingenious, and therefore less worthy of Archimedes. The glassy sphere of Archimedes, representing the true picture of the Heavens, is best known by Claudian's Epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,

Risit, et ad superos talia verba dedit.
Hucine mortalis progressa potentia curæ:

Ecce Syracusii ludimur arte senis.

Pope, if he did not borrow, has hit on, the same thought,

Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,

And showed a Newton as we show an ape.

Essay on Man, Epist. ii. v. 33, 34

land, than Marcellus in those by sea. The siege of Syracuse was therefore converted into a blockade under the pretor, while the consul, with one third of the army, marched to quell insurrection in other parts of the island. He was opposed by 20,000 men, under Himilco, assisted by Hippocrates, who, while his brother Epicydes ably defended Syracuse, thought his own activity might be usefully employed in cooperating with the Carthaginian general. The flames of discord thus raged more widely: cities were taken, lost, and recovered; both parties were powerfully reinforced; and while other scenes of the war excited comparatively little interest, all men turned their eyes to the well sustained conflict in Sicily⁷². Marcellus, having compelled his opponents to shut themselves up in Agrigentum, returned to assist Appius in the siege of Syracuse. His assaults were as unprosperous as before; and when, by means of Syracusan exiles, who had joined him, he gained a strong party within the city, the intrigues of those traitors were disconcerted by Epicydes, a traitor of far greater dexterity.

The following occurrence, at length, opened a gleam of hope to the besiegers. Damippus a Lacedæmonian, had been employed as a confidential agent between Hannibal and his coadjutor Epicydes on one side, and king Philip on the other. In his way to Macedon from Syracuse, Damippus had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Epicydes wished exceedingly to recover him; and Marcellus was the less unwilling to release him, because the Romans at this time were solicitous, as we have above shown, to gain the friendship of the Lacedæmonians, his countrymen. In consequence of this disposition on both sides, deputations met to treat of his ransom at the fort of Galeagra, overlooking that part of the sea which washed the northern wall of the city. A Roman soldier availed himself of this opportunity to examine the wall narrowly, and having noted the spot where it was most assailable, communicated his observation to Marcellus. The general delayed, however, to proceed on this information, until apprised by deserters, that the Syracusans, in perfect security, were celebrating Diana's festival; that, amidst the scar-

Part of the
city taken.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 212.

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35 & seq. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell.

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city of other luxuries, wine had been distributed to them in great profusion: and that two preceding carousals would probably be outdone by the intemperance of the third and last day of the solemnity ⁷³. Upon this intelligence, Marcellus selected a fit band of assailants, provided with ladders of the necessary height, for the soldier had carefully remarked the size of the stones and the number of layers in which they rose above each other. At that hour of the night, when Syracuse was most likely to be buried in sleep and wine, the wall was scaled by 1,000 men, who, finding the solitude around them disturbed only by a few drunken revellers, hastened westward to the Hexapyle, or "Six Gateways," forming so many entrances to the quarter called Tycha. Having burst open the least obstinate barricade, they admitted their watchful companions in such numbers, that the business was no longer to elude, but to terrify the enemy. The trumpets were sounded; a general shout was raised; and the guards in Tycha and Epipolæ only waked from their intoxication, to fall headlong from the walls, or to fly in terror through the streets.

Acradina
and Orty-
gia defend-
ed by Epi-
cydes.

The sound of arms had scarcely reached Acradina and Ortygia, in the latter of which Epicydes occupied the royal palace, when Marcellus at dawn entered the Hexapyle, with the greater part of his army. Epicydes hastened to repel the assailants, venting execrations against those who had allowed the wall to be scaled, and reproaching the cowards, who, flocking to him on his way, greatly increased, he said, by exaggerating, the danger. But when a nearer approach made him acquainted with the full extent of his misfortune, he returned with the utmost diligence to secure Acradina and the island, the only parts of the city which he judged to be still tenable. Meanwhile Marcellus, having gained the fortresses in Epipolæ, successively took possession of Tycha and Neapolis. The submission of the inhabitants saved their lives, but came too late to protect their property. Those regions

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 23. & seq.

of the city were subjected to a general pillage, extorted rather by the rapacity of the soldiers, than permitted through the cruel indulgence of the general; for Marcellus, at first entering the place, and viewing its vastness and magnificence from the heights which gave name to Epipolæ, shed tears of pity at the hard duty which the obstinacy and impolicy of the Syracusans had imposed on him⁷⁴: he remembered the high renown of the commonwealth, its innumerable trophies over Carthage, and its signal triumph over Athens in the zenith of her glory; above all, the late virtuous reign of Hieron, during which Syracuse had continued for upwards of fifty years to be intimately connected with Rome in an alliance equally useful and honourable to both parties.

Meanwhile Epicydes exerted equal diligence and dexterity for the defence of Acradina and Ortygia; in which, chiefly, consisted the admired splendour of the city. The assaults of the Romans had been repelled vigorously on every side, when Hippocrates and Himilco arrived to succour the besieged at the head of a great army. Battles were fought with various success, and the combatants did not suffer more cruelly from each other, than from the pestilence, a common evil, which, after greatly afflicting both, finally swept away almost the whole Carthaginian army with the two generals commanding it. Their Sicilian auxiliaries dispersed into neighbouring cities; while Epicydes, though deprived of external aid, persevered in defending his walls with unabating energy⁷⁵. This obstinacy of resistance, allowed time for a new effort in his favour. A fleet, consisting of 130 large galleys and 700 victuallers, sailed prosperously from Carthage to the southern coast of Sicily, and anchored, most of them, at a place called the Harbour of Ulysses, on the farther side of Pachynus; but a strong wind from the east rendered it impossible to double that promontory. The news of this vast armament, its first successful navigation, and long subsequent delay, excited alternate emotions of hope and fear among the besiegers and besieged. Epicydes,

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The Carthaginians assist Syracuse by land and sea.

⁷⁴ Tit. Liv. & Plutarch ubi supra.

⁷⁵ Id. ibid.

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Cowardice
of Bomilcar
their ad-
miral.

The re-
maining di-
visions of
Syracuse
taken
through
the treach-
ery of Me-
ricus a
Spaniard.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 212.

who dreaded that, should the storm continue to blow from the east, Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, would sail back to Carthage, determined to join him with the utmost expedition, leaving the defence of Syracuse, meanwhile, in the hands of his lieutenants; and Marcellus, who perceived that the Carthaginian partisans throughout Sicily were encouraged to new exertions by the prospect of such powerful assistance, hastened to sea, though with an inferior fleet, in the design of fighting the enemy. The two fleets were on opposite sides of Pachynus. The cessation of the tempestuous east wind enabled them to come in sight of each other. Epicydes exerted all his endeavours to inspire Bomilcar with confidence; but that commander no sooner perceived the Romans advancing towards him in full sail, than, being seized with a sudden panic, he bore away with the ships of war, and sent orders to the transports in Heracleæ and other harbours, to make all haste into Africa. Epicydes, totally disconcerted by his cowardice, instead of returning to Syracuse, which he considered as now lost⁷⁶, sailed to Agrigentum, and after occasioning new troubles to the Romans there, finally escaped safe into Africa.

The destruction of the Carthaginian army, followed by this shameful flight of the fleet, diffused consternation through a large body of Sicilian rebels, who had again assembled in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. They wished by any means to obtain forgiveness; and, for this purpose, while they applied directly to Metellus, they sent a numerous deputation into the besieged city, with a view to prevail on it to capitulate. The persons, employed in this transaction, intimated their commission only to such Syracusans as had been long connected with them in the bonds of old hereditary friendship; and they soon understood, that all attempts to bring about any offer of capitulation must prove fruitless, while those men remained alive, whom Epicydes had left in authority. This obstacle being removed

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 27.

By the help of assassins, an embassy was sent to Marcellus in order to extenuate past errors, and to implore his clemency. But, before his answer could be received, Syracuse was subjected to a new calamity. The Roman deserters in the place well knew that the mercy which might be shown to others, would not be extended to them; and had the address to make many bodies of Greek mercenaries unite with them, as in a common cause. The best part of the citizens were intimidated, the worst abetted the sedition. The gates were shut against the Romans, and guarded more carefully than ever. Yet, after the first ferment had subsided, it was determined that the persons sent to Marcellus should be readmitted, and together with them a deputation from that general. Among the soldiers escorting his deputies, the Roman commander, who had learned, by secret intelligence, that one of the three gates of Acradina was intrusted to Mericus a Spaniard, sent a fit agent of that nation then serving among his auxiliaries. Through the persuasion of this auxiliary, his countryman was prevailed on to betray his post. The Romans, having thus entered Acradina by treachery, completed their success by arms, both there and in the island Ortygia connected with it by a bridge. Being exempted from observing any measures with the Syracusans, they imposed no bounds to their wanton abuse of victory, except what seemed necessary for securing to the Roman exchequer a due proportion of the booty, particularly the money contained in the royal treasury in Ortygia. Amidst innumerable acts of rage and cruelty, one only is pointedly commemorated, but by this alone, laurels, brighter than those of Marcellus, would be for ever blasted. The murder of Archimedes, in which the sanctity of science was violated, is so variously recorded, that the Romans should seem, through shame, never to have made any authentic report of it⁷⁷. A tomb, by order of the conqueror, was erected for him in the suburb, and inscribed, as had been his own desire, with a sphere and cylinder. At the dis-

The city plundered.

Death of Archimedes.

His tomb discovered at the distance of 139 years by Cicero.

⁷⁷ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 31. & Plutarch in Marcell.

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tance of 139 years from this period, Cicero, when questor in Sicily, asked the magistrates of Syracuse, who were officiously pointing out to him less interesting objects, for the tomb of Archimedes. They could not acquaint him with its site; and, to cloak their ignorance, denied the existence of any such monument. At his desire, he was then conducted beyond the gate to an ancient cemetery. After much search amidst brambles and rubbish, a stone was found, bearing a sphere and cylinder, with part also of the mouldering inscription on this great geometer. Cicero boasts of his discovery with honest exultation⁷⁸, and contrasts his own keen curiosity with the careless indifference of the magistrates of Syracuse, one of the noblest cities of Greece, and once one of the most learned. But he considered not, or, considering, forbore to mention, the cause of this wretched degeneracy.

Glory of
the Sicili-
ans in arts
and letters.

Geometry, indeed, since the decline of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, might be considered as a sort of exotic, transplanted laboriously from Egypt. But the Sicilians, while an independent nation, produced poets, orators, and historians, many of whom we have had occasion to commemorate. The eloquence of Gorgias, of Leontium, was admired even in Athens. The historians Antiochus⁷⁹, Philistus, Callias, Antander, Timæus, furnished a chain of narrative downward from the 90th to the 129th Olympiad and the Punic wars, including the affairs of Sicily, and of all those countries with which that island was connected. But pastoral poetry was the peculiar boast of the Sicilians, and should seem to have flourished in their island from the fabulous times of Daphnis⁸⁰ and Diomus⁸¹, to those of Bion and Moschus, in the age of Ptolemy Philometor⁸². But in the space of seventy-three years from the death of Philometor, to the discovery of the tomb of Archimedes by Cicero, the

⁷⁸ Tusculan. Quæst. l. v. c. 3.

in Theocrit.

⁷⁹ Diodor. l. xii. p. 333. & Strabo, l. vi. p. 254.

⁸¹ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 619:

⁸² Suidas.

⁸⁰ Diodor. l. iv. sub fin. & Schol.

Sicilian muses had become dumb, and both literature and science were totally neglected. Such was the change produced on this lively and ingenious people by the accumulating oppression of a foreign yoke! CHAP.
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Marcellus stripped Syracuse of riches not inferior to what the sack of Carthage would have yielded, and of works of art, adorning public monuments, which no wealth could purchase. The Romans thus usurped the trophies reared over many foreign enemies by this long illustrious republic; and by decking their own capital with ornaments which they wanted contrivance to invent, and even industry to imitate, they exposed themselves to the just reproaches of all civilized nations, particularly of Greeks, in every division of the world⁸³. At the taking of Agrigentum by the consul Lævinus, the riches and elegancies of that city, the second in the island, were ransacked with equal avidity, and carefully transported to Rome. Lævinus then made himself master of six other cities by assault, of twenty by treachery, and of forty by voluntary surrender⁸⁴. The whole island thus fell under the dominion of Rome; and though its various communities were treated differently, according to their several deserts, yet the justice administered to all of them appears to have been measured on a scale of rigid severity. In what had formed the proper kingdom of Hieron, the regulations of that wise prince were upheld respecting tillage, tithes, and other matters of rural economy, because none more profitable could be devised⁸⁵; and the fertile Sicily, long the seat of arts, arms, and tumultuary liberty, sunk into a peaceful farm, cultivated chiefly for the benefit of the Romans, and of which, before the age of Augustus, the whole superfluous produce was annually transported to feed their voracious capital⁸⁶.

⁸³ Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Polybius, l. ix. c. 10. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 40. l. xxvi. c. 30 & 31.

⁸⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40.

⁸⁵ Cicero in Verrem, l. ii. de Jurisdic. Siciliens. & l. iii. Oratio

Frumentaria.

⁸⁶ Strabo, l. vi. p. 273. Among the exports of Sicily he mentions corn, cattle, hides, wool, honey, saffron.

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XVI.

War in
Spain.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1—
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 212
—207.

Scipio
Africanus.

The success of the Romans in the conquest of Syracuse, was balanced by contemporary and very disastrous events in Spain. The Scipios, Publius and Cneius, having separated their forces too widely, and being deserted by their Spanish auxiliaries, were in the space of one month successively cut off, with a great proportion of their respective armies. But the officers, who had commanded under them, especially Lucius Martius, a young Roman, endowed with talents far beyond his years or his rank, collected the scattered legions, and made head against the enemy⁸⁷, until the arrival in Spain, as proconsul, of the son of Publius Scipio. This new general, who bore also the name of Publius, assumed the command at the age of 24: seven years before this time he had saved his father's life in the battle of Ticinus: his talents, civil as well as military, were of the highest order: his zeal for the public service, his integrity, and magnanimity surpassed the glory of his talents. The Romans were inclined to regard the brightness of his unspotted merit with a superstitious reverence; and Scipio too well knew the influence of such prepossessions, not to employ fit means to confirm them, and to establish himself in the public mind as the peculiar favourite of heaven, destined to retrieve the misfortunes of his family, and to extend the renown of his country⁸⁸. His first exploit was the capture of New Carthage; and success is said thenceforward to have attended him for the space of ten years, till his victory over Hannibal in Africa gloriously terminated the war. Yet, this account is not altogether consistent with those facts which the partiality of Roman historians could not venture to dissemble.

Asdrubal
passes into
Italy. De-
feated and
slain.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

Hannibal, disappointed in his succours from Carthage, and deceived in those promised from king Philip, looked with anxious expectation towards his brother Asdrubal, in Spain. For seven years Asdrubal was prevented from gratifying his hopes by the brothers Publius and Cneius; but in the fourth year after the son of Publius had assumed

⁸⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 37, & seq.

⁸⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 18, & seq.

the command, Asdrubal marched through Gaul into Italy, and having passed the Po and the Rubicon, was totally defeated and slain on the Metaurus, in Umbria, by the consuls Livius and Nero. This decisive defeat was the work chiefly of Nero. He had been opposing Hannibal in Apulia, when Asdrubal's letters, desiring Hannibal to meet him in Umbria, were intercepted: Nero left his camp with a select detachment; marched northward two hundred and fifty miles, along the seacoast, and by a seasonable junction with his colleague, defeated Asdrubal in the Metaurus, before Hannibal was apprised of the departure of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse from lines opposite to his own. Nero marched back into Apulia, carrying with him the terror of a battle as bloody as that of Cannæ. At sight of his brother Asdrubal's head, Hannibal acknowledged with a sigh the sad destiny of Carthage. He quickly moved into the country of the Brutii, and contracted the few confederates that remained to him into that remote corner, where only he was still able to protect them⁸⁹.

After the departure of Asdrubal from Spain, Scipio defeated four divisions of the Carthaginians, and successively expelled them from that country. The last division left it under Mago⁹⁰, also son to Hamilcar, and not unworthy of his father and brothers. He escaped to the Balearic isles, from thence sailed to Genoa, and collected an army of Gauls and Ligurians, with whom, while he fought the pretor Quintius Varius near Milan, he was badly wounded and obliged to retreat to the seacoast. In the bay of Genoa, he found some Carthaginian vessels bringing orders both to himself and to Hannibal, that they should return to the defence of their country⁹¹. The pressing necessities of Carthage required indeed this measure. Scipio, after driving the enemy from Spain, had been elected consul, and sailed into Sicily with Africa for his province⁹². His lieutenant Lælius had been sent to ravage the coast of Carthage, and to excite

Scipio's victories in Spain. He prepares to pass into Africa. Olymp. cxliiii: 4. B. C. 205.

⁸⁹ Polybius, l. xi. c. 7. l. xv. c. 1.

Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 41, & seq.

⁹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii c. 13

⁹¹ Polybius, l. xiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv.

l. xxx. c. 18, 19.

⁹² Id. l. xxviii. c. 45

CHAP.
XVI.

Sails thither.

Olymp.
cxliv. 1.
B. C. 204.

defection among the allies or subjects of that state; Masinissa, the Numidian, having already, amidst the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, revolted to Scipio in Spain. After employing the whole year of his consulship in preparations, wonderfully facilitated by the alacrity of all ranks of men both in Sicily and Italy, Scipio, with 400 transports, escorted by 50 galleys, had passed into Africa⁹³. The number of his forces is uncertain, but his strength far surpassed any thing that could be brought against it. He was master of all the open country: he besieged Tunes and Utica, bastions, as it were, on either side of Carthage: Syphax⁹⁴, rival to Masinissa, was his prisoner; and the flower of the Numidians, long the best auxiliaries to Carthage, now received orders from the proconsul.

Hannibal comes to the defence of Carthage. His measures. Olymp. cxliv. 2. B. C. 203.

Under these circumstances, Hannibal arrived at Hadrumetum⁹⁵, eighty miles south of Tunes. His brother Mago, while on the voyage homeward, died at sea of his wound. Hannibal, finding the country round Carthage occupied by enemies, marched westward towards the river Bagradas. Scipio, apprised of his arrival, did not think it expedient to prosecute his attack against places on the seacoast. He therefore proceeded southward to offer battle to the enemy, now encamped near Zama, about sixty miles inland from Hadrumetum. By this time Hannibal had drawn to him the remains of vanquished armies, and all the forces that could be spared from any of the besieged cities. Besides his veterans from Italy, whose horses however he was obliged to leave behind him for want of transports, his standard was followed by that wide variety of nations, which distinguished the service of a people supplied chiefly by mercenaries. They consisted of Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, Moors, and tribes of Numidians hostile to Masinissa⁹⁶. Throughout the whole of the present war, the Carthaginians had avoided to meet the Romans at sea. Their cowardice on this ele-

⁹³ Id. l. xxix. c. 24, et seq.

xxx. 11.

⁹⁴ He was king of the Masæsylians; Masinissa, of the Massylians. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxviii. 17. xxix. 32.

⁹⁵ Polybius, l. xv. c. 5.⁹⁶ Ibid. c. 5.

ment, long propitious to their ancestors, prevented all co-
operation between them and their ally Philip of Macedon. CHAP.
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But Philip, having now with much labour created a fleet of his own, had sent to them 4,000 Macedonians. This reinforcement, however, which afterwards cost Philip so dear, left them far inferior to the enemy in strength as well as spirit. While Scipio was on the march to Zama, Hannibal despatched three spies, who were detected and brought to the Roman camp. The general desired every thing to be shown to them at much leisure, and then dismissed them under a safe-conduct to make report to their employer⁹⁷. The generosity of this proceeding made Hannibal desire a conference. Scipio consented; and for this purpose drew nearer the enemy, to a place called Nadagara⁹⁸, a very advantageous post, and having water at command. Hannibal brought his army within three miles of him, and encamped on a hill, strong and otherwise convenient, but too far removed from water⁹⁹. The conference was not productive of any good effect; and both parties prepared for battle on the adjacent plain.

Hannibal, inferior in other respects, had above eighty elephants, which he placed in his van, that their resistless strength and wild impetuous movements might disturb the Roman ranks. His army was drawn up in three lines, with cavalry, in which he was weak, on the wings. The first line contained the different bodies of mercenaries above enumerated; the second consisted of the domestic forces of Carthage; the third, in which he chiefly confided, of the veterans brought with him from Italy¹⁰⁰. Scipio's men also formed in three lines; the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii: his cavalry was disposed on the wings; the right commanded by Masiussa, the left by Lælius. But in order to provide against any confusion in his order of battle, that might be occasioned by the enemy's elephants, he did not draw up his van in a full line, but separated its cohorts at wide intervals from each

Battle of
Zama.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

⁹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29.

⁹⁹ Polyb. l. xv. c. 6.

⁹⁸ Otherwise called Naraggara.

¹⁰⁰ Polyb. l. xv. c. 8. et seq.

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other¹⁰¹; his second and third lines were also provided with intervals corresponding with those in the front of the army. His men being thus arranged, not according to the chequer order¹⁰² usual with the Romans, but by rank and file, in direct back-standing, the elephants, he expected, would find their way, without doing much harm, through the avenues left open for them. The battle began by desultory skirmishes of Numidian horsemen. The elephants were then brought forward, and being galled and enraged by the Velites, disposed in the intervals of the cohorts, either pursued them to the rear of the Roman army, or were carried towards the extremities of their own line, where they produced much disorder among the Carthaginian cavalry. At this crisis, Masiussa, and Lælius made their attack, and put to rout the squadrons to which they were respectively opposed. Meanwhile Hannibal brought forward his first and second lines. The Romans advanced slowly and silently to meet them. Within a due distance, both armies raised a shout; that, on the side of the Carthaginians, confused and heterogeneous; that of the Romans in one according voice, and therefore louder and more terrible. The mercenaries, however, fought strenuously, but entirely unaided by the Carthaginians behind them, whereas the Principes of the Romans were always at hand to support their Hastati, or first ranks. The mercenaries, being thus obliged to give way, turned their arms on the Carthaginians, by whose cowardice they had been so shamefully deserted. The Carthaginians, now driven to despair, were seized with a frantic rage, and exerted themselves with a boldness, or rather ferocity, altogether unusual to them, both against their own mercenaries and the

¹⁰¹ Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium, quo elephantum hostium accepti nihil ordines turbarent. Tit. Liv. xxx. 33.

¹⁰² Καθαρὴ ἑστὶς αἰς τοὺς Πάριον; (Polyb. xv. c. 9.) may be referred either to the chequer order of maniples or of soldiers. I take it in the latter sense, for the reasons given above. C. xii. p. 673—676.

Romans. At length, repelled by superior force, they hoped to be received into the line of veterans which Hannibal had kept in reserve; but as they approached, the veterans presented to them the points of their spears, so that only a feeble remnant was saved by flying to the wings. Scipio, on this occasion, as the ground, slippery with mud and gore, was interrupted with broken armour and heaps of carcasses, and his ranks considerably disordered, commanded his Hastati to close to the center, and his Principes and Triarii to gain the flanks, and form with the Hastati in one continued line. In this order, an obstinate battle began against Hannibal's veterans, the issue of which was not decided until the return of Masinissa and Lælius, who having defeated and dispersed the enemy's cavalry, now assailed in flank and rear, and totally destroyed Hannibal's only remaining resource ¹⁰³. He escaped with a few horsemen to Hadrumetum, and being recalled to Carthage, declared the war at an end.

The Carthaginians consented to every condition imposed on them. They had lost the possession, and now abandoned ^{Peace—its conditions.} all right to Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, or any other foreign conquest. Even on their own continent, they bound themselves by oaths and hostages not to take arms without permission from the Romans. They surrendered all their galleys, ten only excepted; and had the mortification to see 500 armed vessels burnt by Scipio's order. By a clause of far less importance, they surrendered also all their elephants, and promised no longer to train for war any of those fierce animals: they agreed at the same time to pay 10,000 talents, at the rate of 200 talents yearly. The first payment being immediately exacted, the senate of Carthage was in tears. Hannibal laughed aloud; and being reproved for his indecency, maintained that there could not be any thing more laughable, than the absurdity of men who bewailed the loss of their money, more than that of their ships, arms, and independence ¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Polybius, lxx. c. 9—16.¹⁰⁴ Tit. Liv. l, xxx. c. 44.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Etolians and Acarnanians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians. Manly Resolution of the Acarnanians saves their Country. Philip defeats the Proconsul Sulpicius. His Bravery in the Battle of Elis. False Report of his Death. Philopœmen's Return to Achaia. His Character and Victories. Philip's Exertions against the Romans and King Attalus. Disappointed by the Carthaginians. Machanidas Tyrant of Sparta. Battle of Mantinea. Prosperity of the Achæan League. Philip's Alliance with Antiochus. Great Prospects in the East. Seafight off Casyste. Philip's Conquests in Caria. Destruction of Abydos.

CHAP.
XVII.

Transition
to the
events in
Greece,
contempo-
rary with
the second
Punic war.

THE transactions of the Greeks, contemporary with the Hannibalic war¹, are too important to be considered as an underplot. Philip, the chief enemy to Rome beyond the Hadriatic, light and inconsiderate as he was, excites interest by his activity and spirit. His allies, the Achæans, boasted in Philopœmen a name not eclipsed by that of Marcellus or Scipio. Philip's first opponents, the Etolians, Elians, and Lacedæmonians, presented even in those latter times of Greece, many singular and momentous scenes, flowing from indelible peculiarities in their national manners; and the adversaries whom his injustice afterwards stirred up against him, I mean Attalus and the Rhodians, enjoyed solid and fair preeminences, surpassing the bloodstained pomp of mere military triumphs. This portion of history forms, besides, a natural prelude to the first Macedonian war, from the commencement of which, Rome was engaged in a perpetual series of hostilities or negotiations with the different

¹ Ο Αντιδιαχος πολεμος. Polyb. i. 3. *Σιακη*. l. vii. p. 228.
ii. 37. iii. 1. vi 41. & Appian. *Αντι-*

members of that empire, until, in the space of thirty-four years, she gained a decided ascendancy over the nations on this side the Euphrates; and having first taught them to obey her as allies, in the course of the following century reduced the whole of them into dependent provinces, or tributary kingdoms. CHAP.
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The alliance that had been concluded between the Romans and Etolians, opened to the former, the convenient harbour of Naupactus, on the Corinthian gulph. Hostilities commenced from this quarter, by taking Oeneadæ in Acarnania, and Anticyra in Locris. The houses and lands, according to a compact subsisting between the confederates, became the property of the Etolians: all things movable, including the persons of the vanquished, were seized as booty by the Romans². Meanwhile the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, in hopes of preventing that state from cooperating with barbarous invaders. The Etolians sent to the same place to confirm the Lacedæmonians in their engagements. Both ambassadors, Chlainias on the part of the Etolians, and Lyciscus on that of the Acarnanians, pleaded at great length before the Lacedæmonian assembly; and, in their speeches, gave opposite and equally unfair views of Grecian History. According to the Etolian, the kings of Macedon, from Philip, the father of Alexander, downwards, had always been the worst foes to Greece; hostile to its liberty and glory, and cruel persecutors of every citizen zealous to maintain these enjoyments. The forbearance of Antigonus Doson, in sparing the freedom, and even the dignity of Sparta, when conquered in a just war, Chlainias ascribed to motives altogether unworthy of so excellent a prince; “but whatever might be thought by others of that specious transaction, the Lacedæmonians had clearly shown that they were not its dupes, since they had taken arms against the successor of Antigonus in the social war. After that time, nothing surely had happened that could inspire them with more favourable dispositions towards Mace-

The Acarnanians and Etolians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. cxlii. 2. B. C. 211.

They plead their respective causes before the Lacedæmonian assembly.

² Polybius, l. xi. c. 6. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 24.

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don." Lyciscus replied ably and warmly, by contrasting the glorious exploits of Philip and his immortal son, with the mean predatory expeditions of the Etolians. He passed slightly over the reigns of Cassander, Demetrius, and Antigonus Gonatas, but dwelt with complacence on the mildness and magnanimity of Antigonus Doson, to whom the Spartans owed the privilege, now exercised by them, of holding their assemblies. Philip, the present king, he observed, had been desirous of treading in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor; it was matter of deep regret, that the Lacedæmonians had ever opposed his views; but though they had done this formerly, they ought not again to repeat and aggravate their error; for the circumstances were greatly changed by the confederacy of the Etolians with a more formidable foreign enemy, now lowering like a cloud in the west; who would first eclipse Macedon, but, ere long, would darken all Greece. He adjured the Lacedæmonians, by the glorious death of Leonidas, and by the sportive magnanimity of their ancestors, who buried the Persian ambassadors in a well, when they came to demand earth and water, not to take party with the Etolians and the barbarous invaders by whom they were abetted³. We are not informed of the immediate decision of the assembly; but the Lacedæmonians, shortly afterwards, embraced the worst resolution, and took the field to maintain it, under the direction of Machanidas, an able and active tyrant.

Manly resolutions of the Acarnanians, by which they save their country.
Olymp. cxlii. 2.
B. C. 211.

The inroads to which Macedon was always liable on its northern frontier, having recalled Philip to the defence of his kingdom, the Etolians determined to seize the opportunity of prosecuting their success in Acarnania. Their preparations greatly alarmed the Acarnanians, who knew what they had to expect from the jealousy of the worst of neighbours, and the rage of the fiercest of enemies. Successive messengers were sent to hasten Philip's return: application was made to the Achæans and Epirots; but the dreadful appre-

³ Polybius, l. ix. c. 28, et seq.

hensions of the Acarnanians appeared chiefly in the domestic measures immediately adopted by them. They sent their women, children, and helpless old men to neighbouring strongholds in Epirus. All males in their country, from the age of fifteen to sixty, were commanded to take arms, and to bind themselves by oath, either to conquer or die. The most horrible imprecations were denounced against all who shunned the enemy, and all who might be tempted, by any false notions of humanity, to receive such cowards into their communion. This firm decree, together with the arrival of Philip in Thessaly, prevented, for the present, the Etolian invasion⁴.

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To punish that people for the terror with which they had alarmed ancient and most faithful allies to his family, Philip soon after formed the siege of Echinus, a city on the Malian gulph. The place was well fortified, and contained a considerable garrison; with which the Romans cooperated by sea, and Dorimachus, the Etolian pretor, by land. But Philip repelled these enemies from his camp, and prosecuted the siege in a manner worthy of the descendent of Poliorcetes. His engines threw stones of thirty and sixty pounds weight, until the besieged were driven from their works, and compelled, in hopes of saving their lives, to surrender at discretion⁵.

Philip
takes Echi-
nus.

Besides gratifying his passion for sieges, Philip had another motive for occupying Echinus. From the moment that he began to form a naval force, Attalus, king of Pergamus, naturally became his rival. That prince, who in an able reign of thirty years had lost no opportunity of augmenting his diminutive territories, was warmly courted by the Eto- lians, and invested by them with the pretorship, in conjunction with their countryman Pyrrhias, who, in the absence of his royal colleague, exercised alone the functions of that office. By seizing the harbour of Echinus, directly opposite to the coast of Pergamus, and in the neighbourhood of other Etolian strongholds, Attalus would have been in a condition

Progress of
Attalus
king of
Pergamus.
Olymp.
cxlii. 3.
B. C. 210.

⁴ Polybius, l. ix. c. 40. Conf. xvi. 22.

⁵ Polyb. ix. 41.

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powerfully to assist his new allies. Shortly afterwards, he sailed for that purpose to Ægina, and meanwhile aided them with some forces in Thessaly; the proconsul Sulpicius, who had succeeded Valerius in the command of the Roman fleet, sent them also a thousand of his men, as an earnest of more effectual succour.

Philip's
success
against the
Etolians
and Ro-
mans.
Olymp.
exliiii. 1.
B. C. 208.

Against Pyrrhias the Etolian pretor, thus reinforced by splendid allies, Philip fought successfully in Thessaly, until he drove his enemies from the field, and compelled them to take refuge within the strong walls of Lamia. From thence, for the sake of foraging, he proceeded to Phalara, on the Malian gulph, and was there met by the same ambassadors from Rhodes and Egypt, who had been so zealous in mediating the former peace. Philip assured them, that he would be always willing to treat on reasonable terms. He named a time when an assembly of the Achæans would meet to hear the proposals of their enemies; and immediately granted a month's truce to the Etolians. As he apprehended that Attalus might land on Eubœa, he reinforced his garrisons in that island, and proceeded southward with his cavalry and light infantry to Argos, that republic having chosen him to preside in their Heræan and Nemean games. After solemnizing the first of these festivals, he proceeded to the Achæan assembly at Ægium. The Rhodians and Egyptians were present; they employed the same arguments in favour of peace that they had urged on former occasions; but the Etolians having just learned, that Attalus and the Romans had respectively sailed to Ægina and Naupactus, became more intractable than ever. Philip spurned their unwarrantable demands, especially after the recent success of his arms, and rejoiced in an opportunity of throwing on them, in presence of the ambassadors, the whole odium of the war. Having left part of his army to protect the Achæans, threatened on one side by the Etolians, and on the other by Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, he dissolved the assembly of Ægium, and returned to Argos, to celebrate the Nemean games; but that pleasing

solemnity was quickly interrupted by intelligence that the proconsul Sulpicius had sailed from Naupactus, and was committing dreadful ravages in the fertile territory⁶ between Corinth and Sicyon. Philip hastened with his cavalry to oppose him, ordering his infantry to follow with all possible expedition. Sulpicius was attacked, defeated, and driven disgracefully to his ships⁷.

The fame of this exploit brightened the remainder of the festivity, during which Philip divested himself of his diadem and purple, and mingled in every scene of amusement with the familiarity and freedom of a private citizen. But unfortunately, this vain show of equality was accompanied by the worst acts that can be sanctioned by power. The tyrant added murder to adultery in the case of the younger Aratus, whom he called his friend; he gave unrestrained career to his fierce⁸ voluptuousness at Argos, to the disgrace and affliction of that ancient commonwealth, from which the kings of Macedon boasted their descent.

The games had no sooner terminated, than Philip undertook an expedition against the Elians, steady allies to the Etolians, and whose capital, Elis, was actually garrisoned by troops of that nation. He marched against the city in hopes of provoking to battle a people highly susceptible of irritation. He was not disappointed in this particular; but felt no small surprise at beholding Roman arms and standards glittering amidst the ranks of the Elians and Etolians. The proconsul Sulpicius had sailed to Cyllene, and secretly thrown himself into Elis with four thousand soldiers. Philip would have declined the engagement, but it was no longer time to retreat either with honour or safety. He fought bravely at the head of his cavalry, till his horse was killed by a pilum, and then continued to combat on foot amidst the hostile squadrons, until he received protection from his men,

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XVII.

His profligacy during the Nemean games.

His campaign in Elis, and personal bravery. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B.C. 208.

⁶ Agrum nobilissimæ fertilitatis. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 31.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Polybius, l. x. c. 26. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 31. & Plutarch in Arato.

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and, being placed on another horse, was carried from the field. The advantage gained over him could not have been considerable, since he encamped at the distance of only five miles from Elis, and next day committed great depredations⁹ on the territory.

False re-
port of his
death.

Invasion of
Macedon.

Olymp.

cxliii. 1.

B. C 208.

Soon afterwards, most alarming news were brought to him from Macedon. A report of his death being credited among the Barbarians, his northern and western frontiers were a prey to invaders. The false rumour arose from an incident in the late expedition, in which he had defeated the Romans near Sicyon, and driven them disgracefully to their ships. The impetuosity of his horse, carrying him against a tree, one of the wings of his helmet was broken off in the shock. The fragment, adorned with the king's arms, had been carried to Scerdilaidas in Illyricum; and through the artifices of that adversary, operating on gross ignorance, easily converted into a sure proof of the king's death, and a resistless excitement to the invasion of his dominions. Philip flew to their defence, having left little more than two thousand men for the protection of his allies¹⁰.

Philopœ-
men re-
turns from
Crete, and
is in-^a
trusted
with the
command
of the
Achaean
cavalry.

His sudden departure, at this crisis of the war, might have been fatal to the Achæans, had not the military arrangements of that people lately undergone an important change. Cyliadas, then pretor, was not distinguished by any preeminence of courage or ability; but the command of the horse, which was the second place in the army, had been conferred on Philopœmen, whose presence of mind and penetration, a dozen of years before this period, had decided the famous battle of Sellasia. During this long interval, he had resided chiefly in Crete, and taken share in the incessant wars between the petty states in that island, which served as a nursery of men fertile in resources and bold in stratagem, whom we continually meet with fighting, on opposite sides, in all the wars of Alexander's successors. Philopœmen had learned every thing from the Cretans but their dis-

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 32.

¹⁰ Id. *ibid.*

honest craft. His economy despised money, his spirit detested a lie; few loved their country more warmly, and fewer in time of war were better qualified to serve it. As a soldier, he united theory with practice. The different treatises on tactics were familiar to him; but he delighted, above all, in the military historians of Alexander. That great conqueror, he perceived, had rendered the phalanx, which was imperfect in itself, a complete and resistless instrument of war, by the improvement of its accompanying cavalry. Philopœmen set himself to imitate this accomplished model, and to infuse new emulation and energy into the corps which he commanded¹¹. The fame which he had acquired before leaving Peloponnesus, made him the frequent subject of discourse among his countrymen. His return, which had been long looked for, was a matter of public joy. He was received with a degree of fond partiality bordering on enthusiasm; and the qualities of his mind and body were peculiarly well calculated for confirming this disposition in his favour. In the vigour of manhood, his well adjusted frame displayed the utmost measure of strength that is consistent with agility. Frankness, simplicity, and dignity, were announced in his aspect; and with the skill of a great general, continual exercise in arms had enabled him to combine in real war such readiness and dexterity, as surpassed the most surprising feats exhibited at the martial sports of Olympia. The authority acquired by his talents was farther upheld by his prudence: he was a man of few words¹²; every opinion that he gave was well weighed; and every promise that he made might be firmly relied on. Such was Philopœmen, and such the character which he was zealous to stamp on his followers. The expensive finery, which the young Achæans had formerly employed about their dress and personal accommodations, he taught them to confine solely in future to their horses and armour:

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His proceedings for improving it. Olymp. cxlii. 4. B. C. 209.

¹¹ Polybius, l. x. c. 25. l. xi. c. 8. & seq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. and Plutarch in Philopœmen.

¹² He considered long speeches as the greatest impediment to

affairs, remembering the answer of the Athenian when asked what had ruined his republic: "provenere adolescentuli oratores." Id. *ibid*.

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their vanity itself was thus enlisted in the service of their country; and through the martial ardour which he inspired, his squadrons, in the course of a few months, were brought to perform the most intricate evolutions with such precision, that they seemed to be harmonized into a single body actuated by a single mind¹³.

His victories over the Elians and Etolians. Olymp. cxliii. 1. B. C. 208.

Shortly after the departure of Philip from Peloponnesus, the Achæans were called to defend their possessions and their freedom against the Etolians and Elians. They defeated the enemy in two great battles, the description of which has not come down to us. The first was fought on the banks of the river Larissus, which separates Elis from Achaia. In this action, Philopœmen slew with his own hand Demophantus who commanded the enemy's cavalry, and who had advanced before the ranks to challenge him to single combat. The second victory, still more important, was gained in the neighbourhood of Messenè¹⁴.

Philip's exertions against the Romans and their allies. Olymp. cxliii. 2. B. C. 207.

Philip, having repelled the Barbarians from his northern frontier, descended early in the spring to Demetrias in Thessaly. The Achæans, indeed, had, through the abilities of Philopœmen, prevailed over the enemy in Peloponnesus; but the allies beyond the Isthmus, the Acarnanians, Phocians, Thessalians, as well as the islands of Eubœa and Peparathus, were threatened not only by the Etolians by land, but by the procensul Sulpicius by sea, who, together with king Attalus and their combined fleets, had wintered at Ægina to the annoyance and impoverishment of that small island, in itself a mere rock in the Saronic gulph, but hitherto regarded as a wonder of industry and opulence. Philip threw fresh garrisons into the places on the coast most likely to be attacked, and, that he might the more seasonably resist the enemy's descents; caused provisions to be made for signals by fire¹⁵ on the mountains of Phocis, in Peparathus, and in Eubœa.

¹³ Conf. Plutarch in Philop. and Polyb. l. xi. c. 8. and seq.

¹⁴ Plutarch in Philopœm.

¹⁵ Polybius does not explain these

signals particularly, but nothing can surpass in simplicity the mode of making signals by fire proposed by himself, l. x. c. 43—46.

He himself erected a signal house to correspond with them, on mount Tisæus in Thessaly. This precaution saved not Oreum in Eubœa, which Plator, its governor, treacherously surrendered to the Romans, but it enabled Philip seasonably to reinforce the more important city Chalcis. Through the same expedient, he was apprised that Attalus had made a predatory descent on Opus; he flew thither in great haste, and very narrowly failed in surprising him¹⁶. The Macedonians avenged the insult to Opus, by taking some Etolian strongholds in its neighbourhood. Philip's fleet being still imperfectly equipped, he ventured not to cope with the enemy by sea, but made ample amends by land, though fortune often intercepted the fruits of his diligence. It was thus, when the Etolians held a council at Heraclæa Trachinia in order to deliberate with their Roman and Pergamenian allies, that, after a march of extraordinary celerity, he was disappointed by a few hours in seizing his adversaries in full congress. He was anticipated by nearly as short an interval, in an hasty expedition against Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, after long and strenuous preparations, had taken the field in Peloponnesus. His affairs, however, were on the whole prosperous, especially as Attalus had crossed into Asia through fear of his neighbour Prusias I. of Bithynia, and the Roman fleet had also returned to Ægina. About this time, Philip repaired to Ægium to meet the Achæan deputies. He expected also to find in that harbour a Carthaginian squadron, which, being joined to the ships now equipped by himself, would have enabled him to try a seafight with the Romans. But the Carthaginians, having learned that Attalus and Sulpi- cius had at once set sail, feared to be intercepted by them in the Corinthian gulph. They quitted, therefore, that inland sea, and proceeded to the friendly harbours of Acarnania.

This disappointment hindered not Philip from addressing the Achæans in a speech full of alacrity and hope. He attested gods and men, that his vigilance had watched and en-

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XVII.
His signals
by fire.

Disap-
pointed in
his hopes
from a
Carthagi-
nian fleet.
Olymp.
exliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

His speech
to the
Achæan
deputies.

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 7.

CHAP.
XVII.Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

deavoured to turn to profit every circumstance of time or place; and that he had spared no march, however fatiguing, that promised to bring him to action with the enemy. But the swiftness of their flight had, hitherto, eluded his own diligence in pursuit. They thus acknowledged, however, that to be defeated they needed only to be encountered. He trusted that the time was at hand, when the event itself would be as fatal to them, as their apprehensions of it were fearful¹⁷.

His Thra-
cian and Il-
lyrian war.

Shortly after the dissolution of this assembly, Philip's affairs recalled him to Macedon. But with the ships already collected by him, he first made a predatory expedition across the Corinthian gulph to the coast of Etolia. The spoil was sent to Ægium under Nicias the Achæan pretor. Philip sailed to Corinth, and sending his army through Bœotia into Thessaly, visited Eubœa to reward the fidelity of Chalcis, and punish the cowardice of Oreum. At his return to Macedon, he caused the keels of an hundred ships of war to be laid at Cassandria. While this preparation was making against Attalus and the Romans, he marched to chastise the Thracian and Illyrian tribes most troublesome on his mountainous frontier.

Prepara-
tions for
the battle
of Man-
tinæa.

While Philip was detained in this barbarous warfare, the Achæans were left to contend, singlehanded, in Peloponnesus, against the Etolians, Elians, Messenians; above all, the Lacedæmonians invigorated by the dreadful energies of Machanidas their fierce military tyrant. Through arts similar to those of Dionysius and Agathocles, Machanidas now grasped in his own hand the resources of the public and of each individual; he had collected large bodies of mercenaries, and provided vast trains of catapults, to be used in the field as well as in sieges. The first stages of the campaign are not described to us; history records only its closing scene, the death of the tyrant and the glory of Philopœmen in the second¹⁸ battle of Mantinæa. That general had conducted thither

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 8.¹⁸ The first was fought by Epaminondas a hundred and fifty-five

years before. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xviii.

almost the whole domestic troops of the Achæans, infantry and cavalry; together with a large body of mercenaries consisting in lightarmed foot, and that kind of desultory horse called Tarentines¹⁹, from the nature of their arms and disposition. Machanidas and the Spartans took post first at Tegea, also a city of Arcadia about twelve miles directly south of Mantinæa and nearly at an equal distance from the Lacedæmonian frontier. In the hopes of either taking Mantinæa, or of bringing Philopœmen to a decisive engagement in its defence, the tyrant marched at daybreak in three columns, the phalanx headed by himself in the middle, and his lightarmed troops and mercenaries on either side of it, and parallel to each other. The carriages bearing his engines followed behind. In the road to Mantinæa, and about a mile from its walls, there was a ravine or natural ditch, bordering a plain before the city, about two miles broad, and terminating on either hand in hills; those on the east were adorned by a temple of Neptune. Upon the enemy's approach, Philopœmen's troops issued from three gates of Mantinæa to occupy the borders of the ravine. His Tarentines and light infantry advanced along the road leading to the temple of Neptune, and occupied the foot of the hills and partly the hills themselves, near the eastern extremity of the plain. Before these troops, he posted the targeteers and Illyrians. The phalanx followed on the right of the targeteers, forming the center of the army. The Achæan cavalry composed the right wing. Machanidas, as he advanced, made a show of attacking this right wing at the head of his column; but before he had proceeded beyond the point where it would have been no longer safe in presence of an enemy to change his line of march into an order of battle, his light troops and mercenaries on

¹⁹ These Tarentines belonged not to Tarentum in Italy, a republic long dissolved in luxury, and 60 years before this time, deprived of liberty. The "Tarentini" denoted a particular kind of troops, not a

particular people; from which the verb *ταραντινίζειν*, as Eustathius observes, *ελεγγοτο το την ινοπλιαν και εις μαχας χρησιμον ιππηλασιαν ποιεισθαι*. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieget.

CHAP.
XVII.

Second
battle of
Mantineæ.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

the right posted themselves, by a rapid movement, opposite to those of Philopœmen; at the same time the phalanx, marching by its flank, seized the ground facing the phalanx of the enemy; and the cavalry on the left appeared in opposition to the right wing of the Achæans; so that the two armies were now drawn up parallel to each other on opposite sides of the ravine²⁰.

When things were in this posture, Machanidas' line at once opened in various parts, through which issued his vast train of catapults, with men dexterous in working them. Philopœmen then perceived that his adversary had been well aware of the obstacle between the two armies, and meant not to pass it until he had thrown the Achæans into confusion by that unusual mode of war, of which Alexander had made such effectual use against the Thracians in passing the Danube, and against the Scythians in passing the Iaxartes²¹. To interrupt the play of the enemy's machines, Philopœmen darted across the ravine at the head of his swift Tarentines; they were followed by his light infantry. Machanidas opposed these troops by his own mercenaries, consisting also of the same kind of forces. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued, in which, as had often happened in similar occasions, the mercenaries of the tyrant defeated those of the republic²²; and Machanidas, at the head of the victors, pursued the flying enemy to the gates of Mantinea. Philopœmen, after vainly attempting to restrain their flight, took post at the head of his phalanx, which had been drawn up in two lines, divided by intervals into sections of sixteen files each, and the intervals of the second line-corresponding with the sections of the foremost. By a rapid movement to the left, he filled up with the nearest of these sections, the space left empty by the flight of his mercenaries, at the same

²⁰ Polybius, l. xi. c. 11—18.

²¹ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 4.

²² There are clear reasons according to Polybius, why this should often be the case. The mercenaries

of tyrants are completely ruined by defeat: the mercenaries of republics may often be ruined by too decided a victory, since they are employed only through necessity. l. xi. c. 13.

time ordering Polybius²³, uncle to the historian of that name, to collect as many of the latter as had not been carried along in the rout, and therewith to strengthen his left. By this seasonable movement, Philopœmen gained the advantage which Machanidas had rashly thrown away. He had it in his power to attack the Lacedæmonians in flank while they advanced impetuously, elated with the success of their mercenaries. They were not stopped by the ravine, whose sides were of an easy ascent, unobstructed either by brushwood or water; and their emergence from this hollow was the critical moment, watched by Philopœmen, for charging them. The advantage of the ground decided the battle; many Lacedæmonians fell by the well levelled points of the Achæan spears; and many perished in the ditch, trampled down by each other. The same skilful evolution, which enabled Philopœmen to outflank the enemy, intercepted the junction of Machanidas with his disbanded infantry. When the tyrant came back from his ill-judged pursuit, he was forsaken by all but two horsemen, with whom he rode furiously along the ravine, hoping in some part to force his passage. Philopœmen espied him at a distance, for he was conspicuous from his purple and the trappings of his horse, and outstripping him in a parallel course on the opposite bank, arrested him as he sprung over the ravine, with the but end of his spear, and then turning the weapon, stabbed him with its point; thus adorning his victory by an exploit which illustrated the lessons of equestrian exercise in real action²⁴. The Lacedæmonians lost above eight thousand men killed or taken. The city of Tegea, towards which the remainder fled, received promiscuously the fugitives and their pursuers, but readily submitted to the latter when they showed the bloody

Its consequences.

²³ This famous battle was fought Olymp. cxliii. 2; and in the Olymp. cxlix. 4. that is, 26 years afterwards. Polybius the historian was too young for bearing public honours. Fragment. Legat. l. lvii. Notwithstanding which, the French translator by

an elegant change of persons in the narrative says, "Il m'ordonna aussi de rallier."

²⁴ Πάλην ἄλλην ἐκ διακρίσεως. This last term, as we learn from Hesychius, is palæstric: its import is not clearly explained.

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head of the tyrant. The Achæans, shortly after, encamped on the banks of the Eurotas, and ravaged, without opposition, the richest districts in Laconia. Except the single city of Sparta, the whole country lay at their mercy. Sparta, which had long boasted her contempt for walls, now owed her safety to these defences, which had been raised and strengthened by successive usurpers; and which, on this occasion, enabled Nabis, a tyrant more ruthless than Machanidas himself, to seize and long²⁵ wield his bloody sceptre.

Highest
prosperity
of the
Achæan
league.
Olymp.
cxliii. 3, 4.
B. C. 206
—205.

Meanwhile, Philip was occupied on his northern frontier; and the Romans having to oppose both Hannibal and Hasdrubal in Italy, made but feeble efforts beyond the Hadriatic. Delivered at once from the presence of a formidable enemy and an overwhelming ally, the Achæans had free scope for displaying their prowess and love of liberty; for performing great achievements, and for acquiring the praise due to real merit. A republic, established on principles the most equitable and liberal, once more stood at the head of Greece, and produced a sort of afterspring in that country, not unworthy of the harvest of glory which had preceded. The Achæan league was in its highest bloom during the two years which followed the defeat of Machanidas. It had begun to flourish about forty years before that event, under the guidance of Aratus; and about the same space of time after Philopœmen's victory at Mantinæa, Achaia and the rest of Greece were buried under the rigours of an eternal winter. As sameness of situation naturally brings back a similarity of manners and sentiments, the Achæans and their allies exhibited during this short period, the enthusiasm inspired by valour exerted in defence of those advantages which genuine freedom always carries in her train. Shortly after the destruction of an odious and fierce tyrant, the Achæan pretor joined in the celebration of the Nemean games, devoted equally to the display of bodily and mental acquirements. From directing the martial exercises of his companions, he

²⁵ Fourteen years. Tit. Liv. Conf. l. xxix. c. 12. & l. xxxv. c. 35.

proceeded to hear and judge the musical compositions, and happened to enter the theatre as Pylades, a favourite performer, sung the following lines from "the Persians" of Timotheus. CHAP.
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'Tis he who makes our cities gay,
And crowns them with bright liberty.

Instantly all eyes were turned towards Philopœmen²⁶, and the voice of grateful admiration associated his renown with the kindred glories of Cimon and Miltiades.

When Philip returned into Greece, he found his Achæan allies every where triumphant, and the most inveterate of their enemies heartily tired of the war. For reasons, which will afterwards appear, he likewise wished for the termination of hostilities. A peace therefore was hastily concluded between himself and the Etolians, each party also contracting in the name of its confederates²⁷. This negotiation was scarcely finished, when the Romans, who, for upwards of two years, had abandoned their allies beyond the Hadriatic, crossed that sea with thirty-five ships of war, carrying ten thousand infantry, and a thousand horse. The proconsul Sempronius, who commanded this armament, having learned with much indignation that the Etolians had adjusted their differences without consulting the Roman senate, sent his lieutenant Lætorius with nearly one half of his forces to the Etolian harbour Naupactus, to examine correctly the state of affairs, and, if possible, to disturb the peace. Meanwhile the proconsul himself made a descent on the coast of Illyricum, and infested Philip's dependencies in that country. The king of Macedon hastened to the aid of his allies, and having obliged the Romans to shut themselves up in Apollonia, marched to that place, and endeavoured without effect to provoke the enemy to battle. For this purpose, he ravaged the Apollonian territory; but proceeded not to besiege the city, which would have been the work of time: his thoughts, besides being turned to peace, he wished not by destroying

Philip makes peace with the Etolians. Olymp. cxliii. 4. B. C. 205.

²⁶ Plutarch in Philopœm.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 13.

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And with
the Ro-
mans.
Olymp.
cxliii. 4.
B. C. 205.

Apollonia, to widen the breach between himself and the Romans, and render it altogether irreparable.

The Epirots, now sunk into weakness and cowardice by division into a number of petty states, chiefly dependent on Macedon, also laboured to terminate the war between Philip and Sempronius. The proconsul, when he perceived all his machinations for again involving the Etolians in the quarrel to be fruitless, and reflected on the maxim of the Romans, never to carry on war in any country, where they had not powerful and zealous allies, consented to an interview with the king in Phœnice, a city of Epirus. Here a truce was concluded for two months: and articles of peace were proposed, subject to the approval or rejection of the Roman tribes, all of which unanimously accepted them. By this treaty²⁸ the Romans adjusted with Philip their interests in some obscure districts in Illyricum, and obtained security for their ally Pleuratus, now the greatest native prince in that country. In the same negotiation were included their confederates, Atalus king of Pergamus, Nabis tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; the republics of the Elians, Messenians, and Athenians. Philip also specified his allies as parties to the treaty; namely, Prusias king of Bithynia, his son-in-law: the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. None of these states, in order to obtain peace, made any sacrifice that has been deemed worthy of mention: the thoughts of the Romans were engrossed by the war with Carthage, and vast prospects in the East made Philip anxious to procure tranquillity in Greece.

Partition
treaty be-
tween
Philip and
Antiochus
against
Ptolemy
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cxliv. 2.
B. C. 203.

Shortly before the termination of hostilities in the latter country, Antiochus had returned to Syria from his triumphant expedition into Upper Asia, and Ptolemy Philopater had closed his inglorious reign in Egypt, leaving for his successor a child only five years old. Antiochus and Philip were both in the vigour of life; their natural ambition was heightened by prosperity; Antiochus was at the head of an army

²⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 12.

supposed the greatest in the world, and Philip had by this time equipped a very considerable fleet. It consisted of about two hundred sail, and contained many vessels of such magnitude that trireme galleys were scarcely thought worthy to fight in his line. Between princes thus prepared for action, and devoid of all scruples to restrain their rapacity, an alliance was formed for invading by sea and land the dominions of young Ptolemy, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, and for guaranteeing to each other their respective conquests²⁹.

Conformably to this project, unsupported by any reason, Antiochus entered Cœle-Syria and Palæstine; and, in the course of two campaigns, made himself master of these countries. Philip expelled the Egyptian garrisons from Ænos and Maronea, possessions long held by the Ptolemies on the southern coast of Thrace; seized Thasos, Samos, Chios, and the more considerable of the islands called Cyclades; conquered several seaports on the coast of Caria; and, in order to facilitate his designs against other maritime provinces in Asia Minor, directed his arms against the rich and well fortified cities commanding the narrow seas which divide that peninsula from Europe. Lysimachia, Chalcedon, and other places of less note successively submitted to his arms. He crossed the Propontis and laid siege to Cius³⁰, situate at the eastern extremity of that sea; a commercial republic which had manfully maintained its independence against the kings of Bithynia its nearest and most formidable neighbours. Here, he was resisted with a degree of obstinacy which he had not elsewhere encountered. The persevering valour of the Ciansians exasperated the fierceness of Philip. He disdained the intercession of neighbouring cities and isles in behalf of the besieged; to the interposition of the Rhodians, indeed, whose

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Their success in this project.

His treacherous acquisition of Cius.
Olymp. cxliv. 2.
B. C. 203.

²⁹ Polybius, l. xv. c. 20.

³⁰ The Propontis stretches two arms into Asia; the Ciansian bay deriving its name from Cius, and the

bay of Astakus, distinguished by the city of that name and by Nicomedia, successive capitals of Bithynia. See above, vol. ii. p. 66.

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whose fleet rendered them formidable, he paid more regard, sending to them assurances that, in compliance with their desire, he intended not to treat Cius with very uncommon severity. But while his ambassador harangued on this subject in the theatre at Rhodes, and expatiated before the assembled multitude on the magnanimity and mildness of his master, messengers arrived with the sad news, that Cius had been taken by Philip, every thing valuable in it plundered and the whole inhabitants either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity³¹.

Philip's
war with
Attalus
and the
Rhodians.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

From this time the Rhodians, perceiving that war was inevitable, would no longer hear the name of Philip mentioned in their assemblies. The kingdom of Pergamus lay near the scene of Philip's cruelties, and was provided with a considerable fleet in the harbour of Ekeæ. With equal spirit and good policy, Attalus, though far advanced in life, prepared to assume in person the command of his ships, and to join them with those of the Rhodians. But before this junction could take place, Philip, carried on by the impetuosity natural to his temper, invaded the territory of Pergamus. In this sudden irruption, he trusted to the assistance of Zeuxis, who governed Lydia for his ally Antiochus. Zeuxis, however, wished not to aggrandize Philip in the neighbourhood of his own satrapy, so that having fruitlessly assaulted the walls of Pergamus, the king of Macedon returned to his ships, after he had heightened the odium in which he was held by burning the Nicephorium, a consecrated grove, containing many magnificent temples³². It had been planted by king Eumenes, the father of Attalus, to adorn the neighbourhood of his capital. Philip not only demolished the Pergamenian temples, but broke in pieces the vast blocks of marble composing them, that they might never be repaired. He also invaded the plain of Thebè, the site, anciently, of the opulent city of that name, celebrated by Homer, as "the sacred city of Aëtion³³;" and justly so denominated, since

³¹ Polyb. l. xv. c. 22, 23. ³² Id. l. xvi. c. i. ³³ Iliad. l. i. v. 366.

it was one of those emporiums or staples, where, as formerly explained, trade was safely carried on under the protection of temples. CHAP.
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By this aggression on the part of Philip, a war, chiefly maritime, commenced on the coasts and islands of Asia, while the Romans, intent on employing their main strength in Africa, were not at leisure to interfere in the affairs of the East. By the exertions of the confederates, Philip was checked in his career of conquest, and obliged to fight two great battles at sea, of which the whole honour was claimed for the Rhodians, by the partial patriotism of their historians Zeno and Antisthenes, but of which, according to less exceptionable testimony³⁴, the glory was divided, and the success doubtful. The first of these engagements was fought in the narrow sea between Chios and the shores of Erythræ; and the particulars of it are related with such circumstantial minuteness, as throws much light on the naval transactions of antiquity. Philip was employed in besieging, by sea and land, an unnamed Ionian city, most probably Erythræ itself, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to its relief with sixty-five decked vessels, all exceeding in size the ordinary rate of trireme galleys. Philip had left part of his fleet to be equipped at Samos, which island he had recently conquered from the Egyptians, and was carrying on the siege with fifty-three large ships, reinforced however by a hundred and fifty long boats and undecked triremes. As he had begun to raise walls and sink mines against the place, and as his naval armament was fully equal to their own, Attalus and the Rhodian commanders, who well knew his obstinacy, doubted not that he would persevere in the siege, and therefore anchored at no great distance, until they perceived a fair opportunity for combat. But Philip, whose works had proceeded slower than expectation, came to the resolution

Seafight off
Casyste.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

³⁴ The letters written by the Admirals immediately after the action, and preserved among the archives of Rhodes. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 9. & 15.

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of putting suddenly to sea and sailing southward to Samos. His course was steered close to the Asian coast: Attalus, who had anchored nearest, immediately gave chase; and, through the vigorous exertions of his rowers, reached the foremost division of the enemy. In his own ship, he attacked an octireme, and by a fortunate stroke below water, sent her to the bottom. Without waiting farther signal, the other ships made haste to engage. A Macedonian vessel, carrying ten banks of oars, and commanded by Democrates, Philip's admiral, incautiously shocked with a bireme that had ventured under its prow: the bireme stuck fast in the enemy's hulk, and thereby impeding its movements, exposed it to be attacked on both sides, and sunk with all the men on board. Dinocrates and Dionysidorus, two brothers commanding under Attalus, had accidents of a different kind. Dinocrates, in engaging a Macedonian octireme, received a stroke above water, and returned it with such dexterity and force to the lower part of the enemy's ship, while her prow was elevated, that his own beak could not again be extracted; until Attalus bore down upon the octireme, and separated the two ships by the violence of his shock. The octireme was taken empty, her crew having wholly perished in battle. Dionysidorus, in assaulting an enemy's septireme, unfortunately missed his aim, and bared his own ship of her oars. The crash was heightened by the falling of her lofty engines: she sunk with all on board, except the captain and two others, who escaped by swimming to a friendly bireme. By this time the Rhodians, commanded by Theophiliscus, had attacked the rear division of the enemy. When the action engaged front to front, they maintained their usual superiority; for by dexterously depressing their own prows, they received unimportant damage, while they occasioned irreparable breaches to their enemies, by striking them in the parts below water. But as the Macedonians fought bravely from their decks, hand to hand, the Rhodians avoided as much as possible to persevere in a close engagement. They chose rather to dart through

the adverse squadrons, breaking off their tiers of oars, and assaulting, as opportunity occurred, sometimes their sterns, sometimes their sides, with a view either to pierce those weak parts, or to carry off the machinery most essential to their manœuvres. In the battle, there were properly two distinct actions; for that part of the Macedonians which turned to support their hindmost ships against the Rhodians, had approached the isle of Chios, whereas the other division engaged with Attalus combated near the coast of Asia. Philip during all this time, had remained at a small intermediate island³⁵: in this situation he watched the progress of the battle, until the following occurrence determined him personally to engage in it. A quinquereme belonging to the enemy; having separated too widely from her companions, was attacked by a Macedonian ship of greater force, and in danger of being sunk. King Attalus, who observed the unequal combat, hastened to give assistance with two quadriremes, one of which was the royal galley, bearing those gorgeous implements of ostentation and vanity, with which Asiatic princes were usually accompanied in all warlike expeditions. At the approach of the two hostile vessels, the Macedonian captain betook himself to flight. Attalus pursued him with too much eagerness, and thereby exposed himself to be intercepted from his own fleet by Philip, who in the critical moment darted with a small squadron from his harbour. The king of Pergamus, to avoid falling into the hands of his adversary, endeavoured to run his ship on the coast of Erythræ; and when Philip's foremost vessels were on the point of boarding him, his presence of mind suggested the following stratagem for eluding their grasp: He caused the showy appendages above mentioned, his purple vestments and golden goblets, to be carried on deck and displayed before the eager eyes of his pursuers. Intent only on rifling these precious effects, they neglected to secure the person of the king, who thus escaped to the friendly

³⁵ There are here some small is- Erythræ, called *ἵπποι*, the "horses."
lands between Chios and the coast of Strabo, l. xiv. p. 644.

CHAP. city of Erythræ. Philip by this time approached, and causing
 XVII. the royal galley of Attalus to be fastened to his own, sailed back into the open sea, collected his scattered ships, and encouraged the whole fleet with shouts of victory. Dionysiodorus, Attalus' admiral, thinking his master irrecoverably lost, gave signal to his fleet to make the friendly ports of Asia. At the same time the Macedonians, who on the other side of the battle had greatly suffered from the Rhodians, were glad to cease from combat, and rejoin their king; while the Rhodians, having tied the enemy's captured ships to their own, made sail for Chios. Philip claimed the victory on two accounts; first, because he had defeated Attalus, and captured the admiral galley; and secondly, because immediately after the battle, he anchored on the very scene of action, and thus kept possession, as it were, of the field. This was the sea before the harbour of Casyste³⁶, better known under its modern name of Tchesmé, where the Russian admiral Spiritoff, in 1770, by means of his fireships, destroyed the whole Turkish fleet.

Its consequences.

Next day, to confirm his claim to victory, Philip endeavoured to recover the bodies of his slain. When he was thus employed, the enemy sailed from the harbour of Chios, offering to renew the battle. He did not think proper to accept the challenge, for in performing his present melancholy duty, he had perceived the whole coast strewn with Macedonian bodies. His loss had exceeded six thousand sailors and three thousand marines, whereas that of the enemy was inconsiderable. This disproportion arose from the great number of his small vessels, many of which had been run down, and their crews drowned; a misfortune which could not happen on the other side, because the Rhodians and Attalus fought chiefly in galleys exceeding the ordinary rate: they brought only nine biremes and three triremes to the engagement. Philip, besides, had lost twenty-

³⁶ Το καλυμνο, αργενον. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 17, that is, Cape Blanc, the white promontory, which protects on the south the harbour of Tchesmé.

four of his largest ships, and two thousand seven hundred of his men had fallen into the hands of the enemy. His forces, therefore, were diminished by the number of nearly twelve thousand. Attalus lost four ships; the Rhodians, three; but the loss most grievous to these islanders was that of their admiral Theophiliscus. Having merited the double prize of skill and valour, he died next day of the wounds which he had received in one of the characteristic incidents of the battle. A Rhodian ship struck her adversary so forcibly, that she left her beak in the breach: the wounded vessel sunk, but the Rhodian also began to fill with water. Theophiliscus hastened to her relief; and, obstinate in his endeavour to save her, was surrounded on all sides by enemies. His exertions, and the alacrity with which he was supported, did not entirely disengage him, till he had received three wounds, which weakened his body, but only rendered his mind more ardent in subsequent scenes of the battle. Before his death, he wrote an account of the action to his country, and named provisionally a successor. The Rhodians confirmed his appointment, and decreed to his memory honours calculated not only to encourage his countrymen then living, but to inspire their distant posterity with patriotism and true valour³⁷.

Had the Romans been at leisure strenuously to cooperate with their allies, the battle of Casystè might have proved fatal to Philip. But that seafight happened about the same time with the famous victory at Zama, in Africa, which terminated the second Punic war; and the king of Macedon was not prevented by the loss of twenty-four large ships and twelve thousand men, from carrying on his operations against the Asiatic coast. Shortly after, we find him besieging the city Prinassus, in Caria, of which he made himself master by a stratagem. From the hardness of the ground on which Prinassus stood, his miners made not the expected progress. Philip, however, ordered the work to be continued with noise and bustle in the day, and in the secrecy of night caused

Philip's
conquests
in Caria.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

³⁷ Polybius, xvi. 9.

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earth to be carried from a distance, and piled up in vast mounds, indicating the extension of his mine many hundred feet in length. He then summoned the inhabitants to surrender, on pain of having their city laid in ruins, by the withdrawing of his props. The terror of this event made them instantly capitulate³⁸.

Stormy weather obliged Philip to winter in Caria. During this season he made himself master of Jassus, Euromus, and several other free cities, as well as of the maritime district Peræa, directly opposite to Rhodes, and long subject to that island. Notwithstanding these conquests, his army was often in great want of provisions. Neither threats nor promises could induce the natives of Caria to furnish a regular market. There was little resource in Zeuxis, the jealous satrap of Lydia. The Macedonians, to relieve their wants, plundered Alabanda: they failed in attempting similar violence against Mylasia. The people of Magnesia, to whom they applied, assured them that they had not any corn to spare, but sent to them a large supply of figs, desiring however, in return for this present, that Philip would give them possession of the ancient city of Myus, of which he had just made himself master. The king, strange to tell! complied with their request, thus bartering, for some cargoes of Magnesian figs, the once proud capital of an independent republic³⁹.

Proceed-
ings of At-
talus and
the Rhodi-
ans.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

Soon after the battle of Casystè, Attalus and the Rhodians repaired their shattered ships in the harbours of Chios. They were quickly in a condition to fight Philip at sea, had the season of the year admitted of naval operations; but as they dreaded to encounter the Macedonian veterans by land, they allowed that prince to infest, without opposition, their allies or subjects in Caria, and to secure in that province his conquests of Peræa, Jassus, Prinassus, and Bargylia. To compensate for the losses sustained on that side, they wrested from Philip several islands and strong-holds near the narrow seas; they threw garrisons into those maritime cities of

³⁸ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 11.³⁹ Ibid. c. 24.

Asia which were most likely to be attacked, and which it was of most importance to defend; they pressed Rome for assistance by repeated embassies; and they occupied such stations with their ships, as might afford them the best opportunity of intercepting their adversary on his return to Macedon.

By this time the Romans, having ended the second Punic war, and reduced Carthage to the state of a dependent tributary, began to direct their most serious attention to the affairs of the East. Immediately after the defeat of Hannibal, in the decisive battle of Zama, they sent an embassy to Egypt, to renew their friendly correspondence with Aristomenes the Acarnanian, protector of that kingdom, under the title of guardian to young Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes. The main object of this mission, which had orders to visit other eastern states, was to assure the court of Alexandria, that the Romans would not overlook the injuries committed by Philip and Antiochus against the Egyptians, their allies, who had been honourably known to them in that character ever since the dignified reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and from whose seasonable generosity, Italy had been succoured in the moment of its greatest exigency, the desolating ravages of the Hannibalic war. Shortly after this mission to Egypt, other embassies were deputed to Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians; in a word, to all those states which were named as Roman allies in the peace recently concluded with Philip.

The Roman ambassadors sent to Athens arrived there at a moment peculiarly critical. While far distant provinces were involved in the calamities of war through Philip's ambition, the Athenians, amidst general tranquillity in Greece, had exposed themselves to the hostilities of that prince by an execrable act of cruelty⁴⁰. During the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, two Acarnanian youths, travelling in Attica, unwarily strayed into the temple of Eleusis. By the ig-

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Roman
embassies
to their
eastern al-
lies.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

Supersti-
tious cruel-
ty of the
Athenians
exposes
them to
Philip's re-
sentment.

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 16.

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norant questions which they put concerning what passed before them, they betrayed themselves as persons uninitiated, and were led before the presidents of the temple to answer for their rash impiety. Upon examination of their transgression, it fully appeared that their entrance into the temple at a forbidden time, had been a matter of mere accident, unaccompanied by any blamable intention; yet, by the merciless voice of superstition, they were condemned to death, and consigned to immediate execution. This odious event kindled a war between the Athenians and Acarnanians. Philip, as protector of the latter, took part in their quarrel, and while that prince ravaged Caria in person, his general Nicanor laid waste Attica.

They are
protected
by Attalus
and the
Rhodians.

Nicanor had carried his depredations to the suburbs of Athens, when the Roman ambassadors arrived in the Piræus. At the same time Attalus and the Rhodians, having gained some advantages over Philip's fleet⁴¹, but having failed in their attempt to intercept the return of that prince to Macedon, sailed to the island of Ægina, and cast anchor there in a harbour scarcely thirty miles distant from Athens. The threats of the Roman ambassadors, and still more, the powerful armament in his neighbourhood, made Nicanor desist from hostilities, and consent to withdraw from Attica. While the Macedonians evacuated that territory, Attalus and the commanders of the Rhodian fleet hastened into the Piræus, and were received by the Athenians as the saviours of their republic. As they proceeded from the harbour to the city, not only the members of the government, but the whole body of the people, came forth to meet them; the priests and priestesses were arranged on both sides of the way, and every temple was thrown open, as if the gods themselves had been eager to testify respect for those illustrious strangers. The first day of their arrival in the Piræus had, however, been entirely dedicated to the ambassadors of Rome, with whom they had important arrangements to make; and then the Athenians invited Attalus to an assembly of the people, that

⁴¹ Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 15, & Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 14.

judicious prince, to avoid the noisy acclamations and fulsome honours of the multitude, preferred, as more decent and more dignified, to transact the business by writing. He commemorated former services to Athens, made mention of his recent successes against Philip, and exhorted the assembly to seize the present opportunity of uniting against the common enemy with himself, the Rhodians, and the Romans. This letter was heard with the utmost extravagance of popular applause; war against Macedon was declared with every excess of superstitious formality; and such immoderate honours were heaped on king Attalus and the Rhodians, as could either be suggested by the example of Athenian flattery on former occasions, or devised by the inventions of men, still growing from age to age more shameless. In a magnificent pageant, the typified people of Rhodes were crowned with the first honours of victory; and to the ten tribes of Athens an eleventh, called the tribe of Attalus, was added, that the name of this illustrious benefactor might rank with the consecrated founders of the Athenian commonwealth⁴².

Having concluded the affairs of Athens so much to his satisfaction, Attalus returned to Ægina, and the Rhodians sailed to the Cyclades, nine of which they received into their alliance; the remaining three, Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, were too strongly guarded by the Macedonians. During Attalus' stay at Ægina, his emissaries were sent to the Etolians, and to all other states formerly leagued against Philip. Negotiations with these communities, particularly the Etolians, occupied much time, and proved ultimately fruitless. They considered Philip's power as too formidable, readily to engage in new hostilities against him. The Roman ambassadors also applied not only to the Etolians at Naupactus, but to the Achæans at Ægium: they travelled to Phœnice in Epirus, and to Athamania, a warlike district on the western

Endea-
vours of
Attalus
and the Ro-
mans to
stir up new
enemies to
Philip.

⁴² Polybius, l. xvi. 25, & seq. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxxi. c. 15.

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frontier of that country. The object of all these journeys was to stir up new enemies to the king of Macedon.

His spirit-
ed exerti-
ons.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

Desperate
resistance
of Abydus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

While Philip's adversaries negotiated, that prince had taken the field. Instead of being intimidated by the threats of a Roman war, the increase of danger only roused his energies⁴³. Having appointed Philocles to succeed Nicanor and renew ravages in Attica, he ordered his fleet to the narrow seas, and hastened to cooperate with it there, at the head of a well appointed army. In that important quarter, he speedily recovered the places which he had lost, and added to them many others; Cypsela, Doriscus, Callipolis, Madytos, Alepeconnesus, Serrheum, and Sestus. But the siege of Abydus detained him long, and was attended with an ever memorable issue. This city standing opposite to Sestus, commanded on the side of Asia the Dardanelles, or shortest passage across the Hellespont, and was an acquisition essential to Philip for completing his plan of conquest. He besieged it vigorously by sea and land. But his floating batteries which he brought to bear against its walls, were resisted efficaciously by engines and ignited weapons: there was much difficulty in saving from destruction those employed in this dangerous service. On the side of the land his miners at length brought down the outer wall; the besieged, however, had raised a new wall behind it: when this also was threatened with demolition, the Abydenians sent two of their citizens, Pantagnotus and Pythiades, to propose the following terms of capitulation: That a handful of troops belonging to Attalus and the Rhodians, who had cooperated in their defence, should retire in safety with their arms and effects; and that all Abydenians of free condition should leave the city with the garments only that covered their bodies. Philip sternly rejected these terms, calculated to melt the most obdurate heart; and answered, that they must either defend themselves like men, or submit unconditionally. Upon the return of their deputies with this dread-

⁴³ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 28.

ful message, the magistrates of Abydus assembled in council. They determined no longer to waste the strength of the citizens in attempting to countermine the enemy. Their women were sent into the temple of Diana; the children, assembled in the gymnasium, or place of exercise; their money and precious effects were collected in heaps, so as to be destroyed in a moment by fire, or thrown into the sea; the men of a military age then mounted the wall, bound under terrible imprecations, either to defend it against the enemy, or to perish in the breach. An oath still more tremendous was imposed on the old men who staid behind; that, if their fellow citizens were overpowered, they should immediately butcher the women and children. On the part of the Abydenian youths, their desperate resolution was carried into full effect. They fought with the rage of lions rather than of men, for, when their weapons were broken or blunted, they darted with their collected bodies against the Macedonians, and grappled with them in a transport of inspired fury, until they forced from them their spears and javelins. Their resistance continued till almost all of them were slain, and until darkness made Philip recal his men from the assault⁴⁴.

Before morning, the old men, instead of performing the more atrocious part assigned them in this horrid tragedy, sent the priests and priestesses in their holy vestments to surrender the city, and implore the mercy of the conqueror. Philip arrived in time to save the treasures, which the Abydenians in case of defeat had prepared for swift destruction: but he was too late for seizing the captives and dragging them into slavery; for the citizens who survived the assault, exclaiming that their brave companions had been betrayed through perjury, flew to the massacre of their women, children, and fathers; and then plunged into their own breasts the weapons still reeking with kindred blood. Philip turned from this scene with disgust, unmixed with commiseration, saying unfeelingly, that he granted three days to the Aby-

⁴⁴ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 17.

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denians to complete their own bloody execution. He then placed a garrison in a post now desolate, but highly important by its situation.

Strait of Abydus contrasted with that between the Pillars of Hercules.

Such was the catastrophe of Abydus, a city which had long flourished in arts, industry, and commerce. Its narrow sea connected Europe and Asia, as the Strait of Gibraltar does Africa and Europe; but the historian who has described its unhappy destiny, observes, that the passage of the Hellespont, only two furlongs broad, compared with the Strait of Gibraltar about twice that number of leagues, seems to have been formed by the hand of nature, not only with some regard to the proportion between the Mediterranean and Atlantic, but also with a view to facilitate the infinitely more active intercourse which prevailed along the shores of the former. The busy traffic and perpetual navigation between Abydus and the coast of Thrace, formed, he observes, a striking contrast with the gloom and deadness, which surrounded the pillars of Hercules⁴⁵.

Philip's altercation with Emilius Lepidus.

While the fate of Abydus still hung in suspense, Emilius Lepidus, one of the Roman ambassadors formerly sent to Egypt, and the youngest of the number, came to Philip's camp and desired an audience of the king. To his remonstrances against making war on the allies of Rome, Philip began a studied answer, the purport of which was to prove that Attalus and the Rhodians, allies of Rome, had themselves been the aggressors. As he dwelt on this topic, Emilius, interrupting him, asked, but were the Ciansians also the aggressors, or what injury had you received from the citizens of Abydus? Philip, unused to such rudeness, replied, there are three circumstances, Emilius, that tend to extenuate your ill breeding: first, the inexperience of youth; secondly, the pride of beauty, for you are a very handsome young man; and thirdly, the insolence congenial to the Roman character. But return to your country and tell the Romans, that I wish them to remain faithful to the treaties

⁴⁵ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29.

subsisting between us; if not, by the help of the gods! I will uphold the glory of the Macedonian name, a name not inferior to that of Roman ⁴⁶." The siege of Abydus was hardly ended, when Philip received intelligence that the consul Sulpicius Galba had crossed the Hadriatic even in the end of autumn, and purposed to winter his fleet in Corcyra and his army in Apollonia. The Romans thus commenced the first Macedonian war ⁴⁷, only a few months after they had made peace with Carthage.

⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 18. Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 32.

⁴⁷ The hostilities preceding the late treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, Olymp. cxliiii. 4.

B. C. 205, brought neither advantage nor honour to the former; for which reason chiefly, historians, devoted to Rome, have not dignified them with the name of war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

State of Greece and Macedon at the Commencement of the War with Philip. Surprise of Chalcis. Ravages of Attica. Philopœmen's successful Stratagem against Nabis. Romans invade Epirus. Sulpicius' and Villius' indecisive Campaigns against Philip. His Successes. His maritime Possessions attacked by Attalus and the Rhodians. His imposing Attitude on Mount Æropus. Quintius Flaminius takes the Field against him. Thessaly ravaged by four armies. Romans baffled before Atrax. Singular Bravery of 500 Achæan Youths. Magnanimity of the Acarnanians. Quintius' Surprise of Thebes. Death of Attalus. Battle of Kynocephala.

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Causes of
the Macedonian war.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

THE Romans had just grounds for war with Philip of Macedon. That prince had injured their allies and assisted their enemies. Four thousand of his troops had been made prisoners, while they sustained, in the battle of Zama, the declining cause of Carthage. He was at war with Attalus king of Pergamus, with the Rhodians, and with the Athenians, all of them confederates of Rome; and he had, in part, fulfilled his iniquitous treaty with Antiochus the Great, for dividing between them the rich inheritance of Ptolemy Epiphanes, a prince whom the Romans, in consideration of his youth and the merit of his great ancestor Ptolemy Philadelphus, affected to treat with the regard due to a dear hereditary friend; instead of the cold name of ally, honouring him with the more affectionate appellation of pupil¹. But, notwithstanding this distinguished title, and the strong remonstrances of his tutors or protectors, Epiphanes had been stripped by Philip of his possessions in Caria and in Thrace, while Antiochus had dismembered Egypt of the valuable

¹ Justin, l. xxx. c. 3.

provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In this state of affairs the consul Sulpicius Galba crossed the Hadriatic with a powerful fleet, and an army consisting partly of veterans who had served with distinguished glory in Spain and in Africa. CHAP.
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Before this armament arrived in the harbours of Corcyra and Apollonia, Philip had sacked Abydus, and was on his return from the Hellespont to his central stronghold of Demetrias in Thessaly. Hitherto, he had maintained against all his enemies an equality at sea, and a decided superiority by land. The ancient and proper Macedon was guarded by impracticable fastnesses, hardy soldiers, and hereditary renown. He had greatly extended it on the side both of Thrace and Illyricum; and towards his southern frontier, such was his hold of Greece, and such the condition of that country, as flattered him with strong hopes of maintaining his authority there against every invader. Of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, he was master of the fertile Thessaly, and had humbled the warlike Etolia. The Acarnanians, in the dangerous neighbourhood of Etolia, regarded Philip as their protector: his general Philocles was ravaging the territory of Attica; Bœotia averted hostility only by the poverty and contempt into which it had long sunk; and Macedonian garrisons overawed the four rocky districts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara. At the entrance of the Peloponnesus, Philip held the important city of Corinth, which, together with Chalcis in Eubœa, and Demetrias in Thessaly, he called the three fetters of Greece. Of the other states belonging to that peninsula, five composed the Achæan league. Sparta pursued a course still peculiar to herself, but as dishonourable in later times as it anciently had been glorious. Actuated by inveterate jealousy of Macedon and Achaia, and torn by domestic factions, the Lacedæmonians had destroyed their kings of the race of Hercules, and together with them all those distinctions and institutions most venerable in their country. A succession of military adventurers, remarkable

State of
Macedon
and Greece
at that pe-
riod.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

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for abilities and boldness, had usurped the government, at once the creatures and the tyrants of a sanguinary multitude. Nabis, the last of these tyrants, had now ruled six years. He had murdered or banished all men of worth and property whom his predecessors had left in the territory, and divided not only their estates, but their wives and families, among his mercenary partisans. His throne was upheld by emancipated slaves, unprincipled Cretans, and by a conflux of criminals and fugitives from all parts of Greece, in most of which he had his spies and agents. Yet, odious and cruel as he was, a robber abroad and a tyrant at home, the Romans avowed him for their ally, because his activity and energy formed a balance in Peloponnesus to the Achaean league, long confederate with Macedon².

Views of
the consul
Sulpicius.
—His
lieutenant
Centho's
celerity in
surprising
Chalcis.
Olymp.
xlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

The consul Sulpicius had purposed to winter with his fleet at Corcyra, and his army in Apollonia. During the inactive season, he hoped to gain by negotiation, or intimidate by his arms, the inland Illyrian tribes, through whose mountainous territories he intended to march early in the spring, into the heart of Macedon and Thessaly. But he had scarcely landed on the coast, when Athenian ambassadors arrived, imploring that, without delay, he would deliver their country from depredation and their capital from a siege. The Rhodians had sent a small squadron for their protection; troops, in the pay of Attalus, reinforced the garrison of Athens; there was a considerable body of mercenaries in the pay of the republic; yet so fatally had the Athenians degenerated from their ancient prowess, that all these succours could not enable them to repel inroads on the side of Corinth and Megara, and more ruinous naval descents from Chalcis in Eubœa. The consul therefore listened to their request; and commanded Claudius Centho, with twenty trireme galleys, carrying a strong detachment of soldiers, to sail to the Piræus. With this force, Centho did not think it enough to act on the defensive; an opportunity occurred for executing, in the way of aggression,

² Polybius, l. xv. and xvi. passim.

an enterprise of great spirit. Some deserters from Chalcis informed him of the careless manner in which that city was guarded, though it commanded the narrow Euripus, a passage as important by sea, as is that of Thermopylae by land; and though Chalcis was at once Philip's arsenal, his granary, and his state prison. Upon this intelligence, Centho sailed from the Piræus, and lay concealed on the western side of Cape Sunium, until the approach of night. When it was dark, he doubled that southern promontory of Attica; and by such vigorous plying of his oars in a calm sea, as will appear incredible to modern seamen, surprised Chalcis, about seventy miles distant, before morning. The gates were forced open; all citizens in arms, and many unarmed, were put to the sword. The marketplace was set on fire. The flames extended to the storehouses of corn, and to the magazines of arms and engines. The prisoners confined by Philip were released; his statues, thrown down and mutilated; and the Romans, weary with destroying, returned loaded with booty to their ships³.

Philip, whose signals by fire and posts of observation had been carefully distributed, speedily learned the arrival of the enemy in Eubœa. He hastened from Demetrias with five thousand light infantry, and a proportional body of horse, in hopes of saving his arsenal, or of taking vengeance on its destroyers. But the Romans had already departed: he came only in time to behold the smoking ruins of Chalcis. This mortifying event did not rob him of his presence of mind. From his early youth, he had now reigned twenty years, and as his character had gradually sunk in virtue, it should seem to have risen in energy; in an activity not to be tired out, in promptness of decision and boldness of enterprise. Without hesitating a moment, he proceeded across a bridge of boats on the Euripus, and advanced at the head of his army towards Athens, with the rapidity of a practised racer. Yet, swiftly as he marched, his speed was outstripped by one of

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Philip's
similar
design
against
Athens.

³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 22, 23.

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those whom the Greeks called dayrunners⁴, who, descrying the Macedonians from his watchtower, seasonably alarmed the Athenians. Philip arrived a few hours after, and still before daybreak. He could behold lights carrying in different directions, and perceive the commotion of the troops belonging to Attalus, of the mercenaries in the pay of Athens, above all, of the frightened townsmen. But he found the walls completely manned, and the gates strongly guarded. Having thus failed in his design of surprise, he allowed his men a short time for rest: and in the morning, led them against the northern gate, called Dipylos, with a view to try whether he could force his entrance. Philip hated the Athenians above all other Greeks; and the animosity, as appeared on this occasion, was reciprocal. The gate Dipylos was far larger than any other: spacious streets connected it with the forum; and beyond it, without the city, a wide and well levelled road led to the principal gymnasium, the famed academy of Plato and his followers. The Athenians, with their auxiliaries, after forming within the city, sallied forth from the Dipylos, and occupied part of the space between it and the academy. Their wives, and children, and parents, beheld them from the walls. At this sight, Philip was stimulated to new ardour. He spurred forward his horse into the midst of the enemy, calling aloud to his soldiers, that wherever the king was, there ought to be the standards and the army. The Athenians could not resist the onset of his cavalry. He pursued them towards the city gate, wounding many with his own hand. The havoc was greatest at the gate itself, from which the Macedonians, though excluded, made their retreat with little loss, because missile weapons could not be discharged from the towers without pouring destruction promiscuously on friends and foes.

His ravages
in Attica,
and de-

Philip did not renew his attack on the city, whose defenders were multiplied in the course of the day, by the arrival

⁴ ἡμεροδρομοί.

of Romans from the Piræus, and of a reinforcement belonging to Attalus from Ægina. But before his departure for Peloponnesus, upon a design that will be explained presently, he wreaked his vengeance on every thing in the neighbourhood of Athens, either pleasing by its beauty or venerable for its sanctity. The gymnasiums, Lyceum and Cynosarges, were levelled with the ground; the consecrated groves were set on fire; even the sepulchres of the dead were deformed by the blind impiety of his rage. Shortly afterwards, upon his return from Peloponnesus, he again invaded Attica in concert with his general Philocles, who conducted a reinforcement of two thousand Thracians and Macedonians from Eubœa. In this expedition, after a fruitless attempt against Athens and Eleusis, the ravages of the Athenian territory were still more extensive than formerly. The elegant temples and statues, that adorned the different towns and villages, were demolished; and the stones composing them were broken in pieces, lest their magnitude and fine workmanship should confer a degree of grandeur even on the ruins⁶. This was to wound the Athenians most sensibly, for, notwithstanding the decay of all other kinds of merit among them, the exquisite ingenuity of their artists still shone unrivalled; mount Pentelicus still afforded a profusion of precious marbles; and the Athenians were then, and continued long afterwards, the most vainly superstitious of all mankind.

The motive that drew Philip into Peloponnesus was, that he might meet the Achæan council, then sitting at Argos. In the preceding year, the Achæans, headed by Philopœmen, had defied Nabis and his mercenaries; and by a well concerted stratagem had considerably diminished the tyrant's formidable power. Philopœmen, having computed accurately the distances from Tegea, of all the places subject to the league, sent letters to the several cities most remote from it to the following purport: " Assemble instantly your fighting men; supply them with money and provisions for five days;

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struction of
works of
art.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

Philopœ-
men's suc-
cessful
stratagem
against
Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 201.

⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 24, & seq.

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conduct them to the next city; and, upon your arrival there, deliver the letter herewith sent to its pretor." By these orders, communicated from one city to another through all the different routes leading to Tegea, a great force would be collected on the Lacedæmonian frontier, without creating the least suspicion in those spies and gatherers of news, industriously dispersed by Nabis in every corner of the country. On the day when the arrival of the Achæans was expected at Tegea, Philopœmen sent from that place a select body of lightarmed troops, to infest the Lacedæmonian territories, with orders that, when attacked, they should retreat towards Scotita, a town situate between Tegea and Sparta. These troops concealed themselves during the night, and early next day commenced the business intrusted to them. Meanwhile the Achæans had arrived from different quarters at the time expected. Philopœmen made them take supper at an early hour, and then conducting them towards Scotita, posted them secretly in that neighbourhood. About this time, the light troops began their ravages. Nabis' mercenaries sallied forth in great force, chiefly from Pallênè, a city five miles from Sparta, and repelled the invaders with their accustomed vigour; but, pursuing them beyond Scotita, were themselves unexpectedly assailed by Philopœmen, and all of them either slain or made prisoners⁶.

Philip endeavours to embroil the Achæans with Rome.

This advantage on the side of the Achæans was counterbalanced by their appointment next year of a new and very unequal pretor in the room of Philopœmen. Cycliadea, who succeeded to him, was practised in affairs, and knew how to manage popular assemblies; but his military character did not inspire confidence. The Achæan youth reluctantly joined his standard, though some districts had been ravaged, and even some maritime cities endangered by the restless rapacity of Nabis. The Achæans had assembled at Argos to deliberate concerning the best means of raising forces sufficient to oppose the tyrant, when Philip unexpectedly made his

⁶ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 36 & seq.

appearance in the council. He told them, that he would remove their difficulty; his army was at hand: he would immediately march into Laconia, and transfer thither the whole terror of the war. His proposal being heard with applause, he added that, while he thus employed his arms for the benefit of Achaia, it was reasonable that they should send part of their youth to reinforce his garrisons in Eubœa and other places beyond the Isthmus. The Achæans perceived his drift: he wanted to involve them as deeply as himself in the war with Rome⁷. Cycliades, though his friend, could not approve this design. He thought it unnecessary, however, to oppose it by any argument; and contented himself with observing, that the Achaean council could not deliberate concerning objects foreign to the cause of its meeting. With this repulse, Philip, having engaged a few volunteers in his service, returned to Attica, and after committing the depredations above mentioned in that country, hastened to Macedon in order to oppose the Romans, who threatened his western frontier.

The consul Sulpicius had left his winter quarters and encamped on the river Apsus, which flows into the Adriatic sea between Apollonia and Epidamnus, eight miles to the north of the former city. From thence he sent his lieutenant Lucius Apustius to invade the inland districts of Epirus, whose principal towns and castles were held by Macedonian garrisons. Corragos, Gertunium, and Orgessus were taken by the first assaults. Antipatria, strongly fortified at the entrance of a narrow valley, made an obstinate but unavailing resistance. The men fit to bear arms were put to the sword; and the town, after being plundered of every thing transportable, was burned to the ground. This dreadful example frightened into capitulation Cudrion, a strong place in the neighbourhood, into which Apustius threw a garrison. He then took Ilium, a name as renowned as the city bearing it in Epirus is unknown. In returning, however, to the con-

Romans invade Epirus.
Olymp. cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 25. & Polybius, l. xvi. c. 28.

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sul's camp, the Romans, heavy with booty, were surprised by Athenagoras, one of Philip's generals; and their rear-guard was thrown into disorder. Apustius rode back at full speed, made his army face about, and put to rout the assailants, many of whom fell, and a still greater number surrendered⁸.

Bugged
western
frontier of
Macedon
—why the
Romans
made their
attack on
that side.

This successful expedition drew to the consul's camp several chieftains of the Illyrian tribes, whose barbarous independence alternately guarded and alarmed the security of Macedon. On the north of that kingdom, they inhabited Dardania, and from the confines of Dardania and mount Scardus, occupied the hilly country running southward above two hundred miles, distinguished in its course by the names Dassaretia⁹, Eordia, and Athamania, which, at the mean distance of fifty miles from the Hadriatic, shuts up the western frontiers of Macedon and Thessaly. This rough chain of abrupt hills and intricate valleys, most parts of which were still friendly to Philip, the consul would be obliged to cross before he could seriously distress his adversary. By attacking Macedon on this difficult frontier, the Romans indeed should seem to have exposed themselves to the vulgar reproach of seizing the bull by the horns. All the noble cities of that kingdom, enriched by the spoils of nations; Dium, Pella, Edessa, and Philippi, lay at the other extremity of the country, and near the coasts of the Ægean. But Philip's possessions on that side, particularly the delightful region of Chalcidicè, contained garrisons proportional to their importance¹⁰; and his fleet lay at Demetrias, stationed there against Attalus and the Rhodians, but ready also to cope with the Romans, should they endeavour to make a naval descent on Macedon. Besides this, the Romans never did by fleets what might be effected by armies: their sailors dreaded a winter's voyage; and they had not waited the fittest season, in their haste to combat Philip immediately after the defeat

⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 27.

⁹ Commonly called Dassaretii,

from the tribe inhabiting it. Appian, Illyric.

¹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 45.

of Hannibal. The consul, therefore, moved into the country of the Dassaretii, the northern division of the hilly chain above mentioned, and encamped on the river Bevus¹¹. The towns in that neighbourhood either surrendered or were taken; and their copious granaries of corn enabled the Romans to save the provisions which they had carried with them.

Philip had by this time sent his son Perseus, attended by able officers, to guard the passes from Dardania, and was proceeding in person to defend his western frontier. The trepidation of the Dassaretii, flying in crowds before the invaders, brought him the first news of the enemy. He despatched some troops of horse on discovery, who encountered a body of Roman cavalry sent on the same errand. The battle between them was sharp but undecisive, and both of them returned to their respective camps without bringing back any important intelligence. Philip sent immediately to the field of action to recover the bodies of his slain. They were found to the number of forty, and brought for interment to the camp, where their yawning wounds, inflicted by the massy twoedged Roman sword, are said to have occasioned a very discouraging sensation¹². But Philip's army was twenty-four thousand strong, of which four thousand were cavalry. Directed by some deserters, he continued to advance, and seized a strong post at Athacus, which overlooked the Roman camp. Its orderly arrangement struck him as forcibly as it had formerly done Pyrrhus¹³. A combat soon followed between the light troops, in which the Romans, always armed with their shield and buckler, had a decided advantage over the king's irregular skirmishers. Philip also failed in a design for drawing the enemy into an ambush; and, when the consul next day marched from his camp to offer battle, thought proper to decline the engagement. Sulpicius, after thus defying his adversary, ventured to decamp to a place called Octoluphus, eight miles distant, for the greater con-

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Sulpicius' battles with Philip—indecisive campaign. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 33. ¹² Ibid. c. 24. ¹³ See above, vol. ii. p. 199.

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venience of supplies. To infuse a false security into the Romans, Philip long kept within his rampart; and, when he found that great bodies of them had gone to forage, he sent part of his light troops and cavalry to surprise the stragglers, while the remainder beset the roads leading back to the Roman camp. To prevent any intelligence from reaching the consul, he ordered his men to give no quarter. These measures succeeded. A great many Romans were surprised, intercepted, and slain; and the advantages gained on these occasions would have been without alloy, had not Philip pursued too eagerly a party of horsemen flying towards their encampment, until they were met and protected by the Roman infantry. The fortune of the day then immediately changed: Philip lost four hundred of his *companions*, and by the fall of his wounded horse, was himself dismounted. But a Macedonian instantly alighted, and throwing him on a sound horse, saved the king's life at the expense of his own.

Philip sent speedily to the consul to crave a truce for burying the slain; and being told that he should have an answer in the morning, availed himself of the intermediate time to fly towards difficult mountains, whither the Romans would be unable to follow him, heavily laden as they were with spoil, and their march impeded by elephants, unseasonably carried with them as trophies of their Carthaginian victories. It was the first time that they had employed in war these cumbrous auxiliaries. Philip's purpose was now to harass the enemy in their passage through intricate valleys, by obstructing the defiles, and pouring down missile weapons from the contiguous heights. In this desultory warfare he succeeded so completely, that the consul thought proper to change his line of march. Having retreated with much danger from the country of the Dassaretii to that of Eordia, he possessed himself in the latter, of the two cities of Pelium and Celitrum, and garrisoned them as useful posts

in some succeeding invasion¹⁴. He then returned to the CHAP.
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Banks of the Apsus and Apollonia, from whence he had commenced an expedition of great labour and very inadequate success.

While the consul moved towards the Hadriatic, the necessity of Philip's affairs carried him in an opposite direction. This movement was occasioned by the restless rapacity of the Etolians, who, while the king fought in Illyricum, had broken into Thessaly. Before the commencement of the campaign, both the consul and Philip had sent ambassadors to this fierce people, and each urged plausible arguments for engaging them on his side. The Athenians also, enraged at Philip's recent proceedings in Attica, despatched some of their popular orators to arraign the profaner of temples, the disturber of the ashes of the dead, the odious and abominable violator of rites due to supernal and infernal gods. The Etolians admitted the parties to a hearing at their general council of Naupactus, but Damocritus, who, as pretor for the year, presided in that assembly, had the address to prevent his countrymen from giving a decisive answer. He evaded the question, by recurring to a law of his republic which restrained the determination of war or peace to the annual Pan-Eolian convention at Thermum. It was supposed that he had been bribed by Philip; but he wished only to temporize, that the Etolians, by watching the success of the campaign, might be free to pursue whatever path appeared most profitable. Accordingly, after the first important success obtained by the Romans, they prepared to act as their auxiliaries. Six thousand of their warriors, indeed, whose proceedings will be explained hereafter, had recently sailed to Egypt; but they were reinforced by Amynder king of Athamania, the district of Epirus nearest to Thessaly; and the Dardanians, the fiercest of the Illyrian tribes, on the recall of Perseus from the pass of Pelagonia, had invaded the northern frontier of Macedon. Philip sent his general Athe-

Negotiations with the Etolians—Philip's success against them.

¹⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 36—40

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nagoras to oppose the Dardanians: he marched in person into Thessaly against the Etolians and Athamanians. His success on both sides was complete¹⁵.

Attalus and
the Rhodians
infest from
Philip's
possessions
by sea.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

Meanwhile, with the return of spring, Apustius sailed from Corcyra, and met king Attalus in the Piræus. They were received with enthusiasm by the Athenians, who, individually, and in their public decrees, poured out the most fulsome praises on their friends, and the most extravagant execrations against Philip. The united fleets first attacked the Cyclades, the most important of which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Cythnus made a successful resistance; Andros submitted after a siege; the territory fell under the jurisdiction of Attalus; all transportable booty belonged to the Romans. It has been the fate of those beautiful islands to suffer at many different and very distant periods the most horrid oppression. Dicaearchus, when he sailed to conquer them for Philip, raised altars to Injustice and Impiety¹⁶. The Turkish fleet might consistently invoke the same gods, when it sails yearly from Constantinople to the Isles, to extort exorbitant contributions¹⁷. When the ships of Attalus and the Romans were joined by twenty vessels belonging to the Rhodians, they ventured to attack Philip's important possessions in Chalcidicè and in Eubœa, without fear of the Macedonian squadron stationed at Demetrias. They failed in the assault of Cassandria, which had a powerful garrison: they succeeded against Acanthus in the same Chalcidic region; and they made themselves masters of Oreum in Eubœa, after a long siege. Having terminated these expeditions before the approach of winter, Attalus and the Rhodians sailed to their respective harbours; and the Roman commander, leaving on his way thirty galleys in the Piræus, returned with the remainder of his fleet to Corcyra¹⁸.

Perturbed
state of
Philip's
affairs.

The winter, which relieved others from labour and anxiety, brought no relief of either to Philip. Publius Villius

¹⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 41—43.

¹⁶ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 37.

¹⁷ Eton's Turkish Empire, c. ix

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 44. & seq.

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nister He-
raclides
given up
by him.

had sailed to Apollonia, as successor to the consul Sulpicius Galba, which indicated that the Romans were little satisfied with the slow proceedings of the latter. Philip had to dread not only the persevering exertions of his enemies, but the defection of his allies and the rebellion of his subjects. The Achæans had already shown a reluctance to participate in his danger. A spirit of revolt had seized some places in Thessaly, particularly the city called Thaumaci, “the wonder,” because in proceeding inland from the Malian gulph and Thermopylæ, the traveller here emerged from craggy rocks and narrow valleys, and first beheld at Thaumaci the rich plains of Thessaly stretching beyond his sight like the boundless ocean. The Macedonians, also, entitled to great privileges by their laws, had become dissatisfied with their king, and still more with his ministers. To obviate these evils, Philip assiduously courted the Achæans, and even withdrew garrisons, which his suspicion had long kept in Orchomenos and some other Achæan cities. He besieged Thaumaci in the heart of winter; and he appeased the Macedonians by sacrificing Heraclides, recently commander of the fleet at Demetrias, and who, in the exercise of that and other high employments, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious by his rapacity and cruelty. Heraclides had entered into the service of Philip like other unprincipled fugitives whom that prince received with open arms, as instruments the best fitted for every mischief. He was a native of Tarentum in Italy, and had successively betrayed his countrymen to the Romans, and the Romans to Hannibal. In time of profound peace, he had undertaken to burn the Rhodian fleet. He was a wretch polluted by every vice¹⁹; of intolerable haughtiness to his inferiors, and the most slavish obsequiousness to men in power, uniting at once every thing base in perfidy and dangerous in audacity; and an example, among many others in the reign of Philip, that bad princes will never fail to find still worse instruments and accomplices.

¹⁹ Ploybius, l. xiii. c. 4. & Polyænus, l. v. c. 17.

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His impos-
ing attitude
on mount
Æropus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 2.
B. C. 199.

The strong situation of Thaumaci enabled the place to hold out, until the necessity of Philip's affairs recalled him to the confines of Epirus²⁰. He suspected that the consul Villius would take the field early in the spring; and, profiting by the errors of his predecessor, would endeavour to penetrate into Thessaly by remounting the river Aëus, which falls into the sea at Apollonia. In that case he must traverse Athamania, the southernmost part of the mountainous chain above mentioned. Athenagoras proceeded thither with a part of the army: the king followed with the remainder, and after examining the ground, and occupying with detachments less important passes, encamped on mounts Æropus and Aëneus, between which the Aëus flows in a narrow valley. Where the natural strength of the hills afforded not sufficient security, they were laboriously fortified by art; vast quantities of engines were skilfully disposed. The royal pavilion towered conspicuously in front of the encampment, bidding defiance to the enemy. This imposing attitude strangely disconcerted Villius. His intention, as Philip had foreseen, was to have avoided the dangerous route formerly pursued by Sulpicius, and to have passed through Athamania into Thessaly. But the sight of the king's camp, not by ordinary means to be forced, filled him with perplexity. He resolved, and changed his resolution, and continued still deliberating which course to pursue, when a messenger brought news that Titus Quintus Flaminius had been elected consul; that the province of Macedon had fallen to him by lot: and that he had already arrived in the harbour of Corcyra²¹.

The consul
Flaminius
sent to
command
against
Philip.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

The best excuse for the inactivity of Villius is, that Titus Quintus Flaminius, who came accompanied by his brother Lucius Quintus as commander of the fleet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse, remained forty days in sight of Philip without venturing to assault him. Titus Quintus was scarcely thirty years old when he became consul, having risen by his

²⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

²¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 5. & seq.

merit and popularity to that high rank from the office of questor, without passing through the intermediate dignities of edile and pretor²². In the most illustrious age of Rome, he was the most accomplished of all the Romans. He rivalled the Greeks in their own pursuits; adding to a perfect acquaintance with their language and literature, a lively wit, the most winning affability, and such conciliatory manners that, at a time when his country was extending her empire over the greatest nations, he never once spoke of her power or resentment, but only of her good faith, her moderation, and her clemency. Though the province of Macedon devolved to him by lot, wisdom could not have committed the war to an abler general, or, after a victory, to a more dexterous politician. In Macedon and Greece, he spent nearly a dozen years of his life; and after rendering the former country tributary, completely established the Roman ascendancy in the latter.

While the armies remained on both sides inactive, Philip was flattered with the hopes of peace by means of the chiefs of the Epirots, most of whom adhered to his interest. Through their intervention, for Quintius affected to treat them with much regard in order to gain the nation, a conference was held, during which the king and consul with their respective attendants stood on opposite banks of the Aöus. It was demanded, on the part of the Romans, that the places taken from their allies should be restored, and that all other injuries done to them, should either be repaired or compensated. Philip replied, that many cities and districts, beyond the limits of Macedon, had descended to him from his ancestors; that many others had been conquered by himself. That, for the sake of peace, he would withdraw his garrisons from the latter, and thereby restore them to freedom; but could not think of relinquishing the former, which he held by right of inheritance. As to the other wrongs complained of, the losses sustained in war, he was ready to

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Confer-
ence be-
tween
them.

²² Plutarch in Flamin. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

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submit them to the arbitration of any neutral power, which the Romans thought proper to name. Quintius replied, "that there could not be any room for arbitration, since Philip was manifestly the aggressor;" and then proceeding to mention the states that were to be emancipated, named first of all "the Thessalians." At this Philip exclaimed, "What harder condition could be imposed on me, when vanquished." The conference ended with such animosity on both sides, that it was well the river intervened to prevent mutual hostilities²³.

**Battle on
mount
Æropus.**

Next day the Macedonian posts were attacked with vigour, but as vigorously defended. From the loss, which he had sustained, the consul was led to despair of making a successful impression on them, when a shepherd sent by Charopus, a friendly chief of the Epirots, offered to conduct part of the Roman army through secret windings of the hills, to the rear of the Macedonian encampment. He had assurances of liberal rewards if found faithful, but was nevertheless delivered bound to a tribune, who departed in a moon-shine night, with a detachment of four thousand foot and three hundred horse. On the third morning, the tribune having rested in the daytime, and marched expeditiously during the night, found himself on an eminence, commanding the enemy's rear, and ready to execute the consul's orders. These consisted in setting fire to a pile of wood, for all those mountains were covered with trees, and thereby signifying his arrival; but he was not to raise the shout of war or alarm the enemy, until the action had commenced in front. During the intermediate time, Quintius had amused the king with slight skirmishes: but, on seeing the smoke made by his detachment, he led his whole army to a more serious attack. Philip, with imprudent gallantry, also sallied from his camp, and was driven back with considerable loss within the protection of his batteries. The Romans pursued him thither, and began in their turn to suffer very severely from

²³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 10.

the perpetual discharge of his engines. But their ardour still carried them onward, until their retreat must have been accompanied with great danger, when the shouts of the Romans pouring down on the enemy's rear, spread an alarm in that quarter, which was quickly communicated to the whole Macedonian army²⁴. Philip and his men, alike panic struck, betook themselves to a disorderly flight, and were transported by their terrors over ground where neither cavalry nor heavy infantry could follow them. The king did not recover from his consternation till he had reached a commanding eminence five miles distant. He then began to rally the fugitives: two thousand were missing; their camp was occupied by the Romans.

After this success, the consul paused to provide himself with proper guides from among the Epirots and Athamanians, and to consider in what manner he might with most safety pursue the enemy. The king, he found, had taken post on mount Lingon, whose northern side looked towards Macedon, and whose long eastern ridges shut up Thessaly. It was covered with thick forests, and its highest regions contained wide fields, and abundance of perennial springs. In this post Philip remained several days, uncertain whether to retreat towards his hereditary kingdom, or to make a stand in Thessaly and defend the most ancient and the most valuable of his Grecian provinces. The latter measure was adopted. He descended to the frontier town of Tricca, and thence following the course of the river Peneus, traversed in their utmost breadth the fertile plains of Thessaly even to the valley of Tempe and its mountains Olympus and Ossa, which overhang the Thermaic gulph. In his hasty progress through the country, he commanded the inhabitants of some defenceless towns to follow him with their most precious effects, lest they should fall a prey to the invaders. What could not be transported by the natives, was either burned or seized as booty by his soldiers. He had scarcely ended his march, when the Etolians and Athamanians, hearing of his

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Thessaly
ravaged by
four ar-
mies.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 12

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defeat and flight, broke by different routes into Thessaly, and committed great ravages; so that the open country had already smarted under three invading armies, before the Romans descended from the gorges of Athamania to attack Phaleria and other well fortified cities. They made themselves masters of Phaleria and Gomphi²⁵.

Romans
baffled be-
fore Ægi-
nium and
Atrax.

They next attempted Æginium, but found it impregnable. They then laid siege to the important strong-hold of Atrax, situate eight miles from Larissa, at the confluence of the rivers Atrax and Peneus. This place was defended with great obstinacy; and the consul, in consequence of preceding ravages committed in the neighbourhood, would have suffered much inconvenience from scarcity, had he not taken the precaution of ordering his fleet of victuallers from Corcyra to the Ambracian gulph. Thither cohorts marched by turns, to supply the wants of the camp. While Atrax was besieged by the consul, his brother Lucius Quintius sailed with the Roman fleet from Corcyra to the Piræus, and having there taken under his command the thirty galleys that had been left to defend Athens, joined shortly afterwards at Andros the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, respectively amounting to twenty-four, and twenty, sail. With this great armament they made a descent on the isle of Eubœa, one of Philip's most valuable possessions. Chalcis, the capital, was not again to be surprised, and was too strong to be conquered by assault. But the invaders, after a long siege, took and plundered Eretria. In gold and silver, the amount of their booty was not considerable. The quantity of works of arts, particularly pictures and statues, far exceeded what could have been expected in a place of so little opulence. Having thus possessed themselves of Eretria in the middle of the island, they next besieged Carystus near its southern extremity. It surrendered on capitulation; the Macedonians in garrison ransomed their lives at the rate of three hundred drachmas²⁶ for each man. The combined

²⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13, 14

²⁶ A drachma is $7\frac{3}{4}$ pence

fleet then sailed to Cenchreæ, the spacious western harbour of Corinth, with intention of wresting from Philip that valuable city, as soon as the consul and his army were ready to cooperate in the assault. But that general was long baffled before the walls of Atrax; and when, by his machines and mines, he had made great breaches in them, he found that the bloodiest part of the work was only to begin. The Macedonians, thinking it nobler to defend themselves by bravery than battlements, filled up the entrances by bristling lines of pikemen. The Roman pila made no impression; and as often as the assailants had recourse to their swords, they were on every occasion foiled by the thickset protended spears of their adversaries. The consul, unwilling longer to expose the inferiority of the Roman arms and tactics, at length raised the siege; and, as the country around had been completely foraged, and that there was not any harbour in Etolia or Acarnania fit at once to contain his victualers, and to lodge his troops, he determined to winter at Anticyra in Phocis²⁷.

This city which had been enriched by its traffic to Delphi, the immemorial seat of commerce and superstition, was further recommended for a military post by its central situation. It had Bœotia on one side, and Locris on the other: Thessaly was behind it; and the Peloponnesus before, separated only by a narrow frith. The Romans had not here to encounter that obstinacy of resistance which had defeated them at Atrax. Anticyra and nine less considerable cities in its neighbourhood were taken in a few weeks; Elataea alone kept its gates shut, and detained the consul in a long siege²⁸.

While he was thus occupied in Phocis, his brother Lucius had not been inactive at Cenchreæ. He was fully prepared for undertaking operations against Corinth, and, to commence them, only waited the consul's orders, when an object still more important solicited their joint attention. The Achæans, in the room of Cycliades, a man devoted to Philip, had

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Success of
the Ro-
mans in
Phocis.
Olymp.
exlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Delibera-
tions of the
Achæan
council.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 15. et seq

²⁸ Ib. c. 10.

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elected for pretor Aristænus, a warm partisan of Rome. The occasion seemed favourable for gaining that confederacy, especially by opening the prospect of recovering Corinth which had formerly belonged to it. With this proposal, ambassadors were sent from the Romans, from Attalus, from the Rhodians, and from the Athenians: the states of Achaia agreed to hear them at Sicyon, but at the same time called to the council Cleomedon, who, as ambassador from Philip, had long resided in the Peloponnesus. The first day was entirely consumed in hearing the speeches of the contending parties. The Athenians spoke last in reply to Philip's ambassador: as they had suffered the most from that prince, they were likely to make an impression proportional to their high and just resentment. Next day, the council met to deliberate. The herald, according to custom, invited the members to declare their opinions. But all kept silence. Their situation was, indeed, perplexing. Since the praiseworthy reign of Antigonus Doson, who had defended them against Sparta, and enabled them to cement their confederacy, they had been closely connected with the kings of Macedon. Their several states swore annually to Philip, under the name of his allies, an oath rather of fealty than friendship; but they detested the vices, and despised the levity of that prince. They knew his illwill to Philopœmen, who had infused into many of his countrymen his own elevated patriotism. Philopœmen was now absent in Crete; but all those, who entered into his views, felt an aversion to foreign interference, disdaining Philip, and still more dreading the Romans. The less sound portion of the confederacy, was variously affected towards these powers. In this state of general suspense, the pretor Aristænus arose, observing, that he too would have kept silence, had he been in a private station: but that he felt it his public duty to answer the ambassadors, and that the answer could not be given before the Achæans had decided the nature of it by their decree. Let us therefore consider what fell yesterday from the several ambassadors, not as dictated by their respective

interests, but as different opinions proposed for our deliberation, that we may adopt whichever appears most expedient for ourselves. Under this aspect, the alliance offered by Rome, ought doubtless to be preferred. Peloponnesus is almost an island; the Romans are masters at sea; and we are under the necessity of now accepting them for our friends, or of meeting them instantly as enemies²⁹.

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His discourse was heard with mixed applause and murmur. Not only the members of the council, but the ten demiurgi without whose consent the vote could not be put, were completely at variance. Five contended for the Roman alliance, five as warmly opposed it. Among the latter was Memnon, whose father Rhisiasus, a citizen of Pallène, after urging with him every argument to withdraw his opposition, at length threatened him with death if he persisted in disobedience. By the defection of Memnon from his party, a majority of the demiurgi proposed the question: the alliance with Attalus, with the Rhodians, and with Rome was accepted by all the confederate cities, except Argos, Dymè, and Megalopolis. The deputies of these cities rose up and left the council. Argos had given kings to Macedon from whom Philip was descended; Dymè owed peculiar obligations to that prince; and Megalopolis was indebted to his predecessor Antigonus Doson, not only for its greatness, but its existence as an independent branch of the Achæan confederacy³⁰.

How rendered favourable to Rome. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

The Romans thus obtained the alliance of Achaia, but could not pay the price at which they had agreed to purchase it. Corinth held out against its combined assailants; for Philip, who, from his camp at Tempe, sparingly assailed places of less importance, had been careful strongly to reinforce his garrison in the Corinthian citadel. The consul being obliged at the approach of winter to raise the siege, the Roman fleet sailed to Corcyra; that of Attalus and the Rhodians to the Piræus. For his failure at Corinth, Quintius made some compensation by taking Elatæa. The Macedo-

Conferences desired by Philip.

²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 19. et seq. lyb. l. ii. c. 48 et seq.

³⁰ Id. ibid. ubi supra. Conf. Po-

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nians in the place were allowed to depart unarmed, the citizens had their lives and liberties. The Roman army was then cantoned for the winter in Phocis and Locris. Shortly afterwards a sedition broke out at Opus, a city in the latter district, one party wishing to surrender it to the Etolians, the other to the Romans, while both were alike eager to expel the Macedonian garrison. But this garrison kept possession of the citadel, and was on the point of being attacked by the consul, when ambassadors came from Philip, saying, that he wished for a conference. Quintius listened to this request, because he did not yet know, but expected almost immediately to learn, whether the Romans had prorogued the term of his command, or appointed one of the new consuls for his successor. In the latter case, he would give the conference a pacific turn, and thus enjoy the glory of putting an honourable end to the war; but if the Romans, pleased with his success, should, as he greatly wished, again assign to him the province of Macedon, he determined to reject all terms of accommodation, until he had completely humbled the enemy. He therefore named a time and place for the interview: the time was such as suited his own views; the place was Nicæa, a Locrian town on the Malian gulph, not far from Thermopylæ.

Singular
bravery of
500 Achæan
youths.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Before the conference took place, a very memorable scene, in which Philip was concerned, had been transacted at Argos. We have seen how the deputies of Argos, from attachment to the Macedonian interest, abruptly left the Achæan council rather than concur with the majority in concluding an alliance with Rome. They carried home with them this party spirit, which made it necessary for the Achæans to send to Argos a garrison, consisting of five hundred youths selected from the different cities of the league, and zealously attached to its interests. It was the custom at Argos, on the first day of assembly, to invoke the auspicious names of Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, to which the name of Philip had

of late years been added; a ceremony, that, according to the pliant superstition of the Greeks, seemed a becoming respect to the king, while he was regarded as protector of the Achæans; but as this people had just confederated with his enemies, the invocation of Philip was deemed improper by the herald, and therefore omitted by him. The partisans of Macedon exclaimed against the omission: the honour, they said, had been legally decreed to the king; and the decree had never been rescinded. Philip, besides that his family claimed its descent from Argos, was highly popular in that city, in whose numerous festivities he had often with winning friendliness presided. The general voice of the assembly demanded that his name should be invoked as formerly. This circumstance escaped not the notice of Philocles, the Macedonian governor of Corinth. He hastened to Argos with a strong detachment, and took post in the night on Larissa, a hill so named commanding the city. In the morning, he descended in hostile array to make an easy conquest, as most of the Argives were well affected to his master, when he perceived advancing towards him the five hundred Achæan youths also in order of battle. He sent to them a herald with orders to stop their progress, and exhort them to return to their respective cities; while he showed them how unable they were to contend even with the Argive citizens, much less to combat the Macedonians, who had so recently defeated the Romans and driven them from Corinth. The youths determined unanimously to obey their commander Ænesedemus of Dymè; and inadequate as their numbers were to a successful struggle, for the Argives by this time appeared in arms against them, resolved with one accord to fight and die for their country. But Ænesedemus, unwilling that the flower of Achaia should be untimely cropped, entered into a composition with Philocles for their departure in safety. In compliance with the orders of their leader, they left the field, Ænesedemus only remaining with a few Achæans attached to his person. Philocles sent a small band of Thracians to learn of him the reason for so extraordinary a proceeding. He an-

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answered by projecting his shield in an attitude of defiance, adding, that he stood there, to die in arms defending the city intrusted to him. The Thracians, by order of their captain, slew *Ænesedemus* and his friends³¹. In this manner Philip punished the defection of the Achæans, by taking possession of Argos one of their principal cities.

Conference
at
Nicaea.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

At length the time approached, in which the king and consul were to hold their proposed conference. Philip sailed for this purpose from Demetrias, in a large ship of war, attended by five smaller vessels. He carried with him his secretaries *Apollodorus* and *Demosthenes*, Macedonians; *Brachylles* a Bœotian; and *Cycliades*, recently pretor of the Achæans, but now living in exile since the confederacy of his republic with Rome³². *Quintius* came to the shore to meet him with a more numerous and far nobler attendance. *Amynder*, king of the Athamanians, *Dionysodorus* ambassador from king *Attalus*, *Acesimbrotus* commander of the Rhodian fleet, *Phœnias* pretor of the Etolians, with other leading men belonging to the Etolians and Achæans. At the sight of this great retinue, Philip kept aloof, and declined coming to land when beckoned by the consul. Upon which *Quintius* asked him of what he was afraid? He answered the gods only are the objects of my fear, but I distrust many whom I see around you, and chiefly the Etolians. Trust, the Roman said, is not to be wantonly reposed in enemies; but here the danger is mutual and equal. That, rejoined Philip, is not true; for if *Phœnias* the Etolian were slain, his countrymen would easily find many new and fit pretors, but in case of the like accident to myself, the Macedonians must at this time be left with a minor for their king. This ill breeding at the outset shocked all present; and Philip was desired to explain wherefore he had requested a meeting, He said, that it belonged rather to the consul to say wherefore he had entered

³¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

et Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 32, et seq.

³² Polybius, l. xvii. c. 1, et seq.

his dominions, and on what conditions he would be contented to quit them. The conditions of peace which I shall propose, said Quintius, are clear and simple; you must relinquish every part of Greece, restoring all prisoners and deserters to their respective states: you must restore to the Romans the places occupied by you in Illyricum, in violation of your treaty formerly concluded with the senate: you must restore also to their friend and pupil Ptolemy Epiphanes, all the cities which you have wrested from him since the death of his father. Such are the demands of the Romans; their allies, here present, will speak for themselves. Attalus' ambassador then required that Philip should surrender to his master, the ships, together with their crews, taken in the famous battle of Chios or Casyste; and that he should restore the Nicephorium, the sacred ornament of Pergamus, to the same splendid condition, in which his desolating invasion had found it. The Rhodians next insisted that he should withdraw his garrisons from Caria, the coasts of which rightfully belonged to them, and that he should evacuate Sestos and Abydos, and all other cities of traffic in Asia, or round the narrow seas. The Achæans demanded the restitution of Corinth and Argos. The Etolians spoke last, to the same effect as the Romans, that Philip should totally relinquish Greece, after he had restored to themselves in as good a condition as that in which they formerly stood, all the places which he had detached from their confederacy. These demands were made briefly by Phœnias the Etolian pretor. But there was a man called Alexander the Isian, from his native city Isus³³, who passed among the Etolians for an able orator. This man availed himself of an opportunity to display his talents, by inveighing against Philip in the most bitter terms, as a prince disgraced by every thing perfidious in negotiation, or cruel and cowardly in war. His merciless depredations of defenceless districts, accompanied with the burning of sacred groves,

³³ Strabo places Isus in Bœotia, of the same name in Etolia. there must have been another place

and the demolition of temples, he contrasted with the glorious exploits of former Macedonian kings; of the great Alexander who conquered the Eastern world, less with a view to gratify his own resentment or ambition, than to promote the best interests even of the vanquished; of the numerous successors of that prince, who contended nobly with each other for empire, but never absurdly, by desolating countries and sacking cities, robbed all concerned of the just prizes of victory. What madness! to wage war merely for the sake of war, and to destroy those very objects on account of which it can ever reasonably be carried on! The Isian then took a review of Philip's reign, and showed how obnoxious he had rendered himself to these reproaches. When his invective ended, the king approached nearer to land, and stood forward in his ship to reply. But he had not proceeded far in his discourse, when he was rudely interrupted by the pretor Phœnias, who told him that his excuses were useless and senseless; he had but one alternative, either to conquer in battle, or to submit to the conditions required of him. This, said Philip, is clear even to a blind man; for it happened that Phœnias had weak purblind eyes; and, after explaining the causes which had made him act on some occasions with a severity repugnant to his nature, arraigned in his turn a law of the Etolians, which permitted them "to take spoils from the spoils;" an execrable practice, he said, which both himself and other Greeks had often solemnly exhorted them to abolish, but with so little effect, that the only answer given was, that it would be as easy to separate Etolia from Etolia, as to rescind the law in question. The consul wondering what this might mean, Philip proceeded to describe the unprincipled proceedings of the Etolians, who treated alike friends and foes, and who, in all their wars, lost no opportunity of plundering their own allies, on pretence that these allies were thereby saved from being plundered by their enemies. Having thus explained the technical expression of "taking spoils from the spoils," employed by the Etolians to cloak their rapacity; he

observed, that the condition imposed on him of relinquishing Greece, sounded harsh and haughty even in the Romans; but that, from the Etolians, such language was altogether intolerable; from men who had neither the laws nor manners of Greece, and many of whose townships had never been acknowledged to belong to that country. The districts of the Agræans, Apodotæ, and Amphilochians, are indeed in Etolia, yet are no parts of Greece. These doubtless you resign to me. Quintius smiled at this conceit. Philip then said, that to the Achæans he would restore Argos, but not Corinth: to the Rhodians, that he would give back Peræa in Caria: that Attalus should have his ships with their crews, but for his grove of the Nicephorium, he knew not how to make the restitution required, except by sending to him some plants, with persons properly qualified to cultivate and rear them. Quintius again smiled at this taunt. The king then addressing himself to the consul, in particular, asked whether in his opinion it were just that he should part with the Greek cities that had been transmitted to him from his ancestors. To this the Roman not making any reply, the pretors of the Achæans and Etolians again rose to speak. But the day was far advanced, and Philip, besides, was unwilling to hear any more of their reproaches. He therefore desired that the conditions of peace might be given to him in writing: he wished, he said, to retire and consider them at leisure by himself, for he was there alone without any person to advise with. Quintius, who had listened with complaisance to the king's biting jests, thought that he ought not here to let slip the opportunity of being witty in his turn³⁴. He therefore said, perhaps Philip you are alone, because you have put to death your best friends. The king forced a reluctant grin, called the Sardonic smile; and the conference thus ended as coarsely and bru-

³⁴ Polybius, l. xvii. c. 4—9. The wit on all sides is bad; but the parties also were in bad humour. This occasioned Philip's rudeness at the

outset: his ill breeding at this time is contrasted, as we shall see below, with his *εὐγενεία* and urbanity on future occasions.

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tally as it had begun³⁶. The conditions however were given to Philip in writing, and a second meeting was appointed. To this the king came at a late hour of the day, on pretence that he could not sooner make up his mind, but in reality to avoid the insulting declamations of his adversaries. At his earnest desire, he held a long discourse with the consul apart, the Greek deputies having for this purpose retired to a proper distance from the shore. Upon their return, Philip's propositions were communicated, and declared to be altogether unsatisfactory; but as the lateness of the hour did not admit of hearing their respective objections, a third conference was appointed for the following day at Thronium, a place five miles from Nicæa, and also on the sea shore. Here, after much altercation, it was finally determined that Philip should have a truce for two months, that he might have time to send ambassadors to the senate; and although this condescension was disapproved at first by the allies, the consul engaged them to consent to it, by representing, that as the resolutions of peace or war depended entirely on the senate, the present was the fittest occasion for consulting that council, when, on account of the severity of winter, it was yet impossible to take the field against the common enemy.

Negotiations at Rome. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B. C. 187.

Quintius had by this time received from his friends at Rome flattering intimations but no positive assurances, that he would be continued in his province. He sent, therefore, together with Philip's ambassadors, a deputation from himself to the senate, and likewise Amyntander king of the Athamanians, whose royal title he thought would give him importance and weight, and whose pliancy of temper, he knew, would make him implicitly submit to the direction of those friends at Rome to whom he was addressed. Fit deputies were also sent from the Achæans, Etolians, and Athenians. By this management, the affair was not brought before the senate, until a decree had passed for continuing Quintius in Greece. The ambassadors then desired to be heard, and

³⁶ Id. *ibid.*

ged again with the senate precisely the same arguments which they had used at the preceding conferences with Philip, insisting chiefly, that there could be no safety for their several states, whatever concessions might be obtained in other points, while that prince kept hold of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which, with no less truth than insolence, he called the three fetters of Greece. When the king's ambassadors began to make reply, in a studied oration, their discourse was cut short, and an explicit answer demanded, whether their master was ready to withdraw his garrisons from the three cities in question? They acknowledged that their instructions did not extend thus far, and were dismissed from the senate, not unblamed by that assembly, for having presumed to appear in it with such imperfect powers³⁶.

In return for the truce granted to him, Philip had withdrawn his remaining garrisons from Locris and Phocis, so that Quintius enjoyed perfect ease and security during his winter quarters. Upon the approach of spring, the Romans voted him a reinforcement of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be conducted by Sulpicius and C. Illius, now appointed lieutenants to Quintius, in the same manner which they had before carried on as generals. A supply of three thousand sailors was also decreed to the proconsul's other Lucius, who remained at Corcyra as commander of the fleet. During the continuance of the truce, Philip had not been inactive in preparing for a renewal of hostilities, nor hesitated in adopting any measure, however unwarrantable, that promised to retrieve his affairs, or promote his security. Before he returned to Macedon, for the purpose of recruiting his army, he endeavoured to deprive the proconsul of the advantages which might be expected from his confederacy with the Achæan league. With this view Philip condescended to court his old enemy Nabis, and even surrendered to him the city of Argos; a city whose inhabitants had so recently shown the warmest personal attachment to

Transactions with
the tyrant
Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

³⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 37.

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himself, but who, when it suited his convenience, were resigned by him into the hands of a merciless tyrant. This most disgraceful action Philip hoped indeed to colour, by the pretence that Argos was only given as a deposit, that it might be defended against his enemies. But Nabis did not thus understand the transaction. By the division of lands, and abolition of debts, two firebrands always employed by tyrannical demagogues, he quickly reduced Argos to the level of Sparta³⁷, and destroyed, or drove into exile, every family, and every individual of birth or fortune in the commonwealth. Having thus moulded the Argives agreeably to his own views, he was so regardless of Philip's interest, that he sent an embassy to Quintius at Elatæa, saying, that if he made a journey into Peloponnesus, he doubted not that matters for their common benefit would be amicably adjusted between them. Upon this message, the proconsul went to Anticyra, and sailed from thence to Sicyon with ten quinqueremes, that had been brought round by his brother Lucius from Corcyra. He was met at Sicyon according to appointment, by king Attalus, whose fleet lay at Ægina; and by Nicostratus, pretor of the Achæans. Attalus advised the proconsul by no means to trust himself in Argos; the conference with the tyrant was therefore held at a place called Mycenica, a little distant from the city. The proconsul, with his brother Lucius, as well as Attalus and Nicostratus, all came unarmed. They found Nabis at the head of his soldiers. He began by apologizing for this martial appearance, saying, that he had no distrust of any present, but that it was necessary for him to be on his guard against the Argive exiles. Quintius made two demands, that the tyrant should supply him with a body of men to act against Philip; and that he should conclude a peace with the Achæans. The former requisition was complied with; but instead of a peace, all that could be obtained

³⁷ Rogationem promulgavit unam de tabulis novis, alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces novan-

tibus res ad plebem in optimates accendendam. Tit. Liv. l. xxiii: 38.

by Nicostratus was a truce for four months. Attalus also, CHAP.
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Quintius was alone benefited by the transaction with Nabis, having derived from it a reinforcement of six hundred Cretans. With these, he paraded in his return to Anticyra before the gates of Corinth, in order to show Philocles, who commanded there for Philip, that Nabis had deserted his master, and to induce that governor also to revolt. Philocles refused to betray his trust; but his behaviour was such as left room to conjecture that his loyalty was not unalterable. To promote the proconsul's views, Attalus had ordered his fleet into the harbour Cenchreæ. He proceeded to join it there, after visiting the little commonwealth of Sicyon, between which and himself there had long subsisted a connexion founded on similarity of principles and pursuits, and strongly cemented by many mutual good offices. The king presented that community with ten talents of silver and ten thousand bushels of corn; the Sicyonians honoured him in return with altars and statues³⁹. Attalus in
Sicyon.

The proconsul, as the season for taking the field approached, removed from Anticyra, near the southern extremity of Phocis, and fixed his quarters at Elatæa, on the northern frontier of that province. From this commanding post, taking a view of his strength and alliances, he had just grounds for confidence. The neighbouring countries of Phocis, Doris, and Locris, were entirely at his devotion. The Peloponnesus was behind him, the whole of which was in his interest, except the single city of Corinth. On his right hand, the Athenians and Megareans were zealous allies; on his left the Eto- Magnanimity and
good faith
of the
Acarnanians.

³⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 39 & 40.

³⁹ Polybius, l. xvii. c. 16.

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lians had equal inclination and far more power to serve him. The rich plains of Thessaly were in front, where, in all probability, Philip would make a stand, at once to defend those valuable possessions, and to resist the invasion of his hereditary kingdom. Yet this dazzling prospect did not tempt the proconsul to advance into Thessaly, until he had endeavoured to gain the only states behind him, which had not yet espoused his party. These were the Acarnanians on the west, and the Bœotians on the east. His brother Lucius sailed therefore to the coast of Acarnania; and after all negotiation had failed with a people of high honour and invincibly firm in their friendships, laid siege to Leucas. His assaults were repelled, and the Acarnanians vindicated their good faith to Philip by deeds of heroic valour; nor did they submit to become allies to Rome, until that prince had been defeated in the decisive battle of Kynocephalæ⁴⁰.

Thebes
gained by
stratagem.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

The proconsul took on himself to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, and attained this object by a stratagem unworthy of his character. Having sent for Attalus to Elatæa, he marched, together with him and Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans, through Phocis, and fixed his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes. Next day, escorted by a single manipule or company of soldiers, they proceeded to that city, the proconsul having taken care that two thousand armed men should follow them, at such an interval as sufficed to prevent suspicion. Antiphilus, the Bœotian pretor, who had recently obtained that office in preference to Brachylles, a man totally devoted to Philip, and now attending that prince, came forth to meet them with a crowd of citizens. As they approached the gates, Quintius proceeded more slowly, on pretence of saluting the multitude, but really with a view that his armed men (the *Hastati* of two legions) might have time to come up. Amidst the curiosity and bustle of the multitude, the lictors driving before them the townsmen who obstructed

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 30.

the procession, the Thebans did not immediately observe, or, observing, did not oppose, the entrance of two thousand Roman soldiers within their gates. When they found this body of men surrounding the place of hospitality appointed for the reception of their illustrious visitants, they immediately took the alarm, and doubted not that the city had been betrayed by their pretor. But the glories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas were forgotten: the Thebans were no longer a public spirited, or even a martial people; complaint would be unavailing and might prove dangerous; an assembly therefore was proclaimed for next day, to deliberate on the alliance with Rome; and, as all the inferior cities of Bœotia had on this occasion sent deputies to Thebes, the measure was carried with unanimous approbation⁴¹. This assembly is memorable for a melancholy event which happened in it. Attalus, in the seventy-third year of his age, having overstrained his voice in urging the alliance with Rome, fell down in a fit, and died a few weeks afterwards, in consequence of the only transaction of his public life, of which, in a reign of forty-five years, he had reason to be ashamed. Since his glorious victory over the Gauls, in the first year of his reign, he had been formidable to his enemies, faithful to his allies, indulgent to his subjects, and bound in cordial domestic affection with a family of four sons and their respectable mother Apollonis or Apollonias, a humble native of Cyzicus, but whose virtues endeared her through a long life to her husband Attalus, and her sons Eumenes II. and Attalus surnamed Philadelphus, who followed him successively on the throne⁴². To soothe the sufferings of Attalus, the proconsul remained

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Death of
Attalus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. xxxiii. 1, 2.

⁴² Polybius, l. xviii. c. 24. l. xxiii. c. 3. & c. 18 & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 2, & l. xlii. c. 55. The other sons of Attalus were Philetærus and Athenæus. Liv. *ibid* Apollonias thanked the gods, not for making her the wife and mother of kings, but for the concord that prevailed in the royal family. Plutarch de Fratern. Amore, p. 480. Her religious

procession through the temples of Cyzicus in the midst of her sons, her hands clasped in theirs, was a spectacle of delight to the companions of her humble days, the natives of Cyzicus. She was compared with the happy mother of Cleobis and Biton. See Herodotus, l. i. 31. and Cicero Tuscul. l. 1. c. 47. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 18.

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longer than he would otherwise have done at Thebes. As soon as the king's condition permitted, he was conveyed to his ships, and set sail for Elæa, his principal harbour; while Quintius returned to Elataea, and bent his whole thoughts to the prosecution of the war against Philip.

Move-
ments pre-
ceding the
battle of
Kynocce-
phalæ.

That prince had recruited his army, with much difficulty, in a country exhausted by six years of uninterrupted war. He was compelled to admit into the Macedonian phalanx many youths who had barely passed their sixteenth year, and many old men beyond the age of sixty. To this heavyarmed body of sixteen thousand men, he added above five thousand lighter troops, with two thousand cavalry, and marched towards the frontier town of Dium, and afterwards to Larissa in Thessaly. The consul, about the same time, entered that province by the straits of Thermopylæ, commanding two Roman legions and about ten thousand allies; Greeks, Athamanians, and Epirots. His infantry was equal to the enemy's; his cavalry was more numerous than theirs, and also bolder and better disciplined; for the Thessalians, who had long languished under the dominion of Macedon, were no longer those fearless and gallant horsemen, who maintained such high renown under Jason and Menon, their native and hereditary leaders. The proconsul, adhering to his plan of leaving as few enemies as possible behind him, attacked, in his way to Pheræ, Phthian Thebes, in which city he had secret abettors. The enterprise failed; he advanced however into the heart of Thessaly, and encamped at the distance of five miles from Pheræ. It happened that, almost precisely at the same time, Philip encamped within three miles of the same city, but on the opposite side of it; for upon hearing of the operations against Phthian Thebes, and conjecturing that the enemy still remained in that neighbourhood, he had hastened southward with his whole army from Larissa. He arrived at Pheræ towards evening, and, at early dawn, sent forth some light troops on discovery. Quintius adopted the same measure; and

the hostile parties had nearly met on the ridgy eminence that overlooks the city, when their armour, gleaming with the first rays of the sun, discovered them to each other. They both halted; and after sending notice to their respective camps of their mutual discovery, were both ordered to return. During the whole of that day they remained quiet. Next morning, a body of Roman and Etolian horse, with a due proportion of light infantry, proceeded to the road leading from Pheræ to Larissa; they were encountered there by a more numerous band of Thessalians and Macedonians: the conflict was obstinate but undecisive; both parties returned to camp, the Macedonians having suffered most in the action, so bravely had the Eto- lians fought under their leader Eupolemus, and so efficacious- ly had he exhorted the troops of Italy to follow their ex- ample⁴³.

The event of this skirmish reminded Philip, that the ground about Pheræ, every where covered with inclosures, plantations, and gardens, was equally unfit for the operations of his phalanx, and the compact charge of his Thessalian horse. He wished besides to remove to Scotussa, about thirty miles northward, where he would find ample supplies of corn. The proconsul penetrated his design, so that the two armies again decamped at nearly the same time, and on this occasion marched in a parallel direction, the space between them being filled up by a hilly chain extending all the way from Pheræ to Scotussa, of no great loftiness, yet sufficient to conceal the armies from each other. Philip pursuing his march on the right, made his first halt on the banks of the Onchestus; the proconsul following the direct road, encamp- ed the first night at Eretria. Next day, both parties prosecut- ing their begun course, Philip rested at Melambium, in the district of Scotussa, and Quintius at Thetidium, in that of Pharsalus. The following morning brought impetuous tor- rents of rain, accompanied by tremendous thunder; and so thick a darkness fell on the earth, that the soldiers could with

Parallel
march to
Kynoc-
phale.

⁴³ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 2.

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Battle of
Kynoc-
phale.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

difficulty find their way. Philip, however, who was so near to Scotussa and the end of his journey, began to march, but afterwards thought proper again to encamp, having first detached a body of light troops to take possession of the heights between the two armies. Quintius continued in his camp at Thetidium, but sent out on discovery a body of light infantry, with ten troops of horse. This party fell in with the Macedonians on the heights above mentioned. A conflict ensued, and the Romans were in danger of being defeated, when a reinforcement of two thousand foot and five hundred horse came seasonably to their relief. The face of affairs now changed; the Macedonians were pressed in their turn, and forced to retreat back to the ground from which they had repelled the enemy. As the darkness began to disperse, Philip, who never suspected that he would be so soon compelled to come to a general engagement, had allowed numerous parties to leave the camp in quest of food. But being informed of the danger of his detachment, he ordered most of the Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry, with all his mercenaries, except the Thracians, to advance to its rescue, with positive orders to return quickly, after effecting this service. In the action which followed, the Macedonians were completely successful, their detachment was not only rescued, but the Romans were driven from the heights, and pursued with such slaughter and shouts of victory as spread general consternation through their camp. Their loss would have been still greater but for the incredible exertions of the Etolian cavalry, which, though often repelled, returned again as often to the charge. When the tumult of war first reached the proconsul, he drew his men from their intrenchments, and posted them near the foot of the hills; which were far less abrupt and rough on his own side than on that of the Macedonian encampment. Having addressed the soldiers in a short and suitable discourse, he ordered his right wing to remain in reserve, and at the head of his left moved towards the enemy. Meanwhile suc-

cessive messengers came to Philip, proclaiming with exultation that the Romans were put to flight; that he had only to advance and complete his victory. Philip liked neither the time nor the place; for his foragers had barely returned from their fatiguing excursions, and the heights which he must ascend were roughened by the protuberances of Kynocéphalæ⁴⁴, so called because their rugged cliffs bore a fanciful resemblance to the heads of grinning dogs. Yet the sanguine ardour of his mind carried him into a situation that made a general engagement unavoidable. At the head of his targeteers and the right division of his phalanx, he marched in good order to seize the heights, commanding Nicanor to bring up the remainder and far larger division with all possible expedition. The king advanced to his ground in column, and then formed his line of battle to the left, thirty-two deep. The day would have been his own, had Nicanor pursued a similar course, or been able, from the nature of the ground, to proceed with equal celerity. But that general, to avoid loss of time in forming when he should reach the summit, brought forward his men in order of battle; the sections of his line thus finding, some of them no difficulties, and others almost unsurmountable obstacles in their way, were separated from each other; their impatience to ascend only increased their disorder, and the greater part were still clambering over rocks and crevices, when Philip was compelled to engage the enemy. The Macedonians levelled their spears; and on this occasion the phalanx maintained the superiority which it always enjoyed in close engagement over all other kinds of military force. The Romans receded; and their retreat was soon so manifest, that a general, less skilful than Quintius, would have considered the battle as lost. In this difficulty his sole confidence was in his right wing, which had stood in reserve, fronted by a chain of elephants to break the first violent irruption of the phalanx. While his left gave way, this

⁴⁴ Or Cynocéphalæ; the change of the first C into K better indicates the meaning of the name.

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division had advanced against the Macedonians, who were still employed in surmounting the rocks of Kynocephala; and who, in their disorder, being incumbered by their long spears and heavy shields, were altogether unable to resist the Roman sword in a desultory combat. Quintius joined the victorious part of his army, and by completing on this side, the overthrow of the enemy, made some compensation for the disgrace of his left wing. But in this state of affairs, a Roman tribune, whom historians do not name, fixed the fortune of the day, and obtained a great and ever memorable victory⁴⁴. Leaving it to his companions to cut down the Macedonians that were flying before them, he withdrew from the pursuit twenty maniples or companies, and returned with the utmost speed to attack Philip's victorious division in rear. This assault was decisive, for the Macedonians were not headed by an Alexander, who, in such an emergency would have availed himself of his great depth, to form the double fronted phalanx, and thus have resisted the enemy behind him, without ceasing the action in front. But, as this movement was not attempted, as the Macedonian left wing was irrecoverably lost, and as the Romans, who had been repulsed by Philip, were still maintaining a running fight, and when they perceived the disorder in his line, began to act with reanimated hope, the havoc made by the tribune and his maniples, continually inflicting wounds which the enemy had no means either to ward off or retort, spread dismay through the whole phalanx. The greater part, throwing away their useless arms, betook themselves to a shameful flight. It is uncertain whether those, who retained them, received quarters; for in another scene of the action, Quintius had not been able to save a division of the enemy's left wing, who, on perceiving his approach, erected their spears in token of surrender. The Romans not understanding, or affecting not to understand the meaning of this manœuvre, cut most of them in pieces, before

⁴⁴ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 4, et seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 7, et seq.

the proconsul, by explaining its signification, could effectually interpose in their favour. This victory, whose consequences were so important, is said to have cost the Romans but seven hundred men; of the Macedonians eight thousand were slain, and five thousand made prisoners ⁴⁵.

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When Philip saw the troops under his immediate command throw down their arms, he fled with some horse and light infantry to a neighbouring eminence, from whence he could survey the whole extent of his disaster. He then hastened to Gonni, a strong post at the entrance of the narrow and intricate vale of Tempè, and about fifteen miles distant from the field of battle. In the fortified camp, which he had formerly occupied there, he determined to halt, until he should collect the sad remains of his discomfited army; sending orders meanwhile to Larissa, to burn all his letters and papers, which, upon marching against the Romans, he had deposited in that city. This cool recollection in the midst of such heavy calamities, does no small credit to the king, for had his correspondence been preserved, the discoveries contained in it would not only have exasperated the Romans against himself, but provoked their keenest resentment against many of his friends ⁴⁶. While the Macedonians sought safety amidst the winding defiles of Tempè, the Romans had been anticipated by the Etolians, in plundering the king's camp at Kyncephalæ; they secured, however, a gleaning of booty with their prisoners; and proceeded to Larissa, which, like the other cities of Thessaly, was now ready to open its gates to the victors. Thither Philip immediately sent heralds, on pretence of craving a suspension of arms that he might bury his slain, but really with a view to obtain the permission of entering into a negotiation for peace. Quintius gratified the heralds to the full extent of their requests, desiring them to tell the king to be of good courage, and to hope every thing from the clemency of Rome. We shall presently see the Roman's motives for a moderation, which gave much offence to his allies, particularly the Eto-

Negotia-
tions for
peace.

⁴⁵ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 17

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Opposition
made to it
by the Eto-
lians.

lians. This relentless people maintained, that there could be no security for themselves or the other states of Greece, until Philip was either slain or deprived of his kingdom. But the proconsul told them, that the Romans were not accustomed to carry on war with such implacable revenge. Good policy, he said, required that Philip should be humbled, not ruined. If the power of Macedon became extinct, what bulwark would remain to the Greeks against the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Treballi, and all the fierce nations around the Danube? Shortly afterwards two of Philip's friends, Demosthenes and Cycliades, came to propose a conference between their master and the generals of the allies. The arrangements for this meeting were fixed by the proconsul; and all parties assembled at the entrance of the vale of Tempè on the day appointed. At this interview Philip appeared quite a new man: his coarseness and asperity had hitherto been offensive; he now conciliated the goodwill of all by his urbanity and mildness. Instead of disputing the ground, as it were, inch by inch, and then either yielding angrily, or holding out obstinately, he was more forward to make concessions than his enemies were to require them. Alexander the Isian, and Phœnias the Etolian pretor, alone remained obdurate; alike insensible to his misfortunes, and to the spirit with which he sustained them. When the king showed the utmost readiness to relinquish not only the conquests made by himself, but even many possessions that had descended to him from his ancestors, Phœnias demanded explicitly, do you then abandon to us Larissa, Pharsalus, Phthian Thebes and Echinus? Philip replied, take them all, and welcome. Upon this Quintus interposed, observing, that to those cities of Thessaly which had voluntarily accepted their alliance, neither himself nor the Etolians could lay any fair claim. Phthian Thebes alone, which had shut its gates and rejected the friendship of Rome, was a just and legitimate conquest⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Polyb. l. xviii. c. 19—22. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 13.

This remark highly offended the Etolians, who objected to it the terms of their confederacy with the Romans in the former war, stipulating that all movable spoil should belong to the latter; but that conquered cities and territories should accrue to themselves. Quintius answered, that the treaty alluded to had been done away, when the Etolians in the former war made a separate peace with Philip, without consulting, as good faith required, their Roman allies. He might have added, but was probably restrained by a sense of dignity, that the Etolians had flagrantly violated the terms of their first confederacy with Rome, in being the foremost to plunder the king's camp at Kynocephalæ, and thus depriving the Romans of any considerable share of the booty. The proconsul's resentment at this transaction, was heightened by the whole behaviour of that selfish and arrogant people. Not more rapacious of wealth than covetous of undeserved fame, their presumption claimed for themselves the chief, or rather sole honours of the war. According to their unblushing encomiasts⁴⁸, the Etolians, rather than the Romans, had gained the battle of Kynocephalæ, and to them fairly belonged the first prizes of victory. Indignation against these insolent allies, whose pretensions were reechoed throughout Greece, concurred with other causes, that will be explained hereafter, to make Quintius come to a speedy adjustment with the common enemy. Philip was required to pay the sum of two hundred talents, and to surrender his younger son Demetrius, and a few other hostages. He was allowed in return to send ambassadors to the senate, with assurances from the proconsul, that if his negotiation failed, his hostages and money

CHAP.
XVIII.Provisional
terms
granted to
Philip.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

⁴⁸ One of these was the poet Alceus, who contrasted the bravery of the Etolians with the cowardice of Philip, who ran away from Kynocephalæ, leaving the slain unburied. Philip, who was also a poet, parodied his impertinent verses by the following inscription for a gallows:—

Luxuriant once I widely swept the
ground,
My fragrant boughs diffusing sweets
around;
But now, a sapless gibbet, doom'd
to bear
The traitor Alceus, rotting in the air.
Translated from Plut. in Flamin.

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should be restored to him ⁴⁹. To allow full time for a happy accommodation of differences, a truce of four months was granted; an interval chequered with events, some of which were calculated to soften, while others had a tendency to aggravate the hard conditions of peace imposed on Philip by the senate.

⁴⁹ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 22.

CHAPTER XIX.

Progress of Antiochus. His politic Views. War in Greece. Murders and Robberies in Boeotia. The Rhodians oppose Antiochus. Isthmian Games. Proclamation of the Liberties of Greece. Antiochus' Thracian Expedition. Conferences at Lysimachia. Conspiracy in Egypt. The Usurpation of the Romans arraigned by Alexander the Etolian. War against the Tyrant Nabis. The Romans withdraw from Greece. Glory of Quintius Flamininus.

HAD the Romans made war on Philip, merely in defence of their allies, Antiochus, at the same time, ought to have become the object of their hostility. The latter prince had wrested from Ptolemy Epiphanes, whom they fondly denominated their pupil, both Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia¹, and had availed himself of the resources of these provinces in men, timber, and iron, to equip a fleet, which gave great importance by sea to a power long formidable by land. After a seven years' war in the East, during which, through the resistless vigour of the phalanx and its accompanying cavalry, he had disarmed the rebellion of Parthia and Bactria, and dispelled the contagion of revolt from neighbouring satrapies, Antiochus turned his arms westward, that he might restore the Syrian monarchy to the fulness of its ancient splendour. In the prosecution of this design, he respected neither the free cities on the coast of Lesser Asia, nor the allies of Rhodes in that peninsula, nor the dominions of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus, who was then zealously cooperating with the Romans in the war against Philip, their common enemy, sent ambassadors to the senate, requesting that either

CHAP.
XIX.
Progress of
Antiochus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Stopped
partly by
negotia-
tion.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 196.

¹ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 18, et seq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19.

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the legions of Italy might be despatched to defend him against Antiochus, or that he should be excused for abandoning the affairs of Greece, at a crisis peculiarly threatening to his hereditary kingdom. The Romans replied, that they could not employ their forces against Antiochus, that prince being their ally; but would send to him an embassy, desiring him to relinquish all hostile designs against Attalus, who was also in alliance with them; that kings, friends to the Romans, ought to live in friendship with each other². In consequence of remonstrances from Rome, joined to another cause still more powerful, Antiochus withdrew from Lesser Asia, and Attalus continued to prosecute unremittingly the war against Philip, both by arms and negotiation, until, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, he fell a martyr to his zeal, and breathed out, as it were, his soul with his voice, in arraigning the common foe before the assembled Bœotians.

War in
Syria.
Olymp.
cxiv. 1—3.
B. C. 200—
198.

The cause that made Antiochus return hastily towards Syria, originated in Egypt. Those who governed that country during the nonage of Ptolemy Epiphanes; had beheld with much regret the dismemberment of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia from their master's kingdom. Hopeless of recovering these provinces by cowardly Egyptians and degenerate Alexandrian Greeks, they had recourse to Scopas, formerly, as we have seen, pretor of the Etolians, but who from dissatisfaction at home, had come to Egypt in quest of riches and preferment. Scopas was sent back into Greece loaded with money, and with assurances of tempting pay to as many of his countrymen as he could engage to follow his standard. He returned to Egypt at the head of six thousand warlike Etolians, whom, without waiting the usual season for taking the field, he immediately conducted in the winter to the mountains of Cœle-Syria and Judæa. His invasion was not to be resisted by the feeble garrisons left there by Antiochus. Most parts of the coast, as well as the inland cities, sub-

² Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 8

mitted to their arms; and many of them experienced all the severity with which war was carried on by the most rapacious and relentless of enemies. Antiochus, when apprised of these proceedings, hastened from Lesser Asia into Syria, attacked the Etolians and Scopas, now greatly reinforced in point of numbers from Egypt; defeated them in a great battle at the foot of mount Panius, near the sources of the Jordan, drove them from the field, and the most important of their strongholds; and at length shut up Scopas himself, with ten thousand of his men, in Sidon. That city made an obstinate resistance, but was compelled by famine to capitulate. The Etolians and Egyptians only bargained for their lives; and were allowed to depart unarmed and half naked into Egypt³.

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Battle of
Panias.

On this occasion the Jews, instead of opposing Antiochus, greatly facilitated his success. Enraged at the mad impiety of Ptolemy Philopater, and exasperated by the recent rapacity of the Etolians, the inferior cities of Judæa as well as the capital itself, with its temple and castle, readily opened their gates to a milder and more magnanimous master. Antiochus, to confirm their goodwill, and to heighten the contrast between himself and the persecuting Philopater, published an edict prohibiting all strangers from entering the temple of Jerusalem. Many Jews from Palæstine as well as many of their brethren from Babylonia, were settled by him in Lydia, Phrygia, and other districts of doubtful allegiance, because surrounded by the territories of his enemies. In all such places, Antiochus relied on the firmness and fidelity of the Jews, and therefore frequently reinforced their colonies⁴; a circumstance which accounts for the great numbers of that nation scattered over Lesser Asia at the first preaching of the gospel.

Antiochus' friendship with the Jews.
Olymp. cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Having settled the affairs of the provinces; which he had thus successfully recovered, Antiochus went into winter

Politic views of Antiochus.

³ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 39. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

⁴ Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. xii. c. 3.

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Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

quarters at Antioch, but prepared early in the spring for renewing hostilities with the utmost vigour. His sons Ardys and Mithridates, hereditary names in the family of the king of Pontus, to whose daughter he had been twenty-three years married, were sent before him at the head of a great army to Sardes; he took on himself the command of his fleet, amounting to more than a hundred galleys, with which he reduced the maritime cities along the southern coast of the peninsula, as far as the Coracesium in Cilicia. While this place detained him before its walls, he received an embassy from Rhodes, which is memorable for the boldness with which so small a republic ventured to defy such a mighty monarch. The Rhodians, adopting the style of Athens in the meridian of her power, forbade Antiochus, as the Athenians had done Artaxerxes⁵, to pass with an armed force beyond the Chelidonian isles. If he transgressed these boundaries, which lay opposite to Coracesium at the western entrance of the same bay, the Rhodians said, that they would oppose him with their utmost might. The king, dissembling his indignation, replied, that he had no hostile intentions against Rhodes, and that he was on good terms with its Roman allies; he added, that the Rhodians would soon receive from him an embassy in return, to remove every cause of jealousy⁶. Through these pacific declarations and successive missions to Rhodes and to Rome, he endeavoured to lull the suspicions of states, which, being themselves deeply engaged in the war against Philip, were not on their part unwilling to temporize. In whatever manner the fortune of that war should be decided, Antiochus expected to turn the event to his advantage. Should the Romans be repelled from Greece, their Rhodian and Pergamenian allies would no longer have courage to oppose his usurpations in Lesser Asia; should Philip's power, on the contrary, be greatly reduced by the war, the representative of Seleucus Nicator might revive with good

⁵ History of Ancient Greece, c. xii.

⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 20. Com. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 22—24.

success his claims on Macedon. With these views Antiochus sailed round to Ephesus, and made that harbour the principal station for his fleet: his land army lay at Sardes: and that he might have no disturbance on his southern frontier, while he carried on his great designs in the west, he entered into a friendly correspondence with the regency of Egypt, and concluded a treaty of marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy Epiphanes, then in his eleventh year, with a promise, that when the young prince was of an age to consummate the nuptials, Cleopatra should bring him for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia⁷.

Meanwhile Philip, who had vainly expected assistance from his Syrian ally, was defeated in the decisive battle of Kynocephalæ, and allowed a truce of four months to negotiate his peace with Rome. He had scarcely obtained this boon from the proconsul Quintius, when, as if no respite had been doomed to his exertions, he was obliged to hasten from Thessaly into Macedon, to repel an incursion of the Dardanians, the fiercest of the Illyrian tribes, his hereditary enemies. These Barbarians availed themselves of his absence, to break into his northern frontier, and to carry their devastations through the richest parts of his kingdom. Philip, at the head of six thousand infantry and five hundred horse, surprised and routed their main body at Stobi in Pæonia; and then directed his arms against their numerous parties which were scattered over the country. The Dardanians were defeated on all sides⁸: most of them were put to the sword; a remnant escaped, carrying into their own forests and mountains, the terror of the Macedonian name.

Philip repels the Dardanians. Olymp. cxlv. 4. B. C. 197.

After this fortunate expedition, Philip went into winter quarters at Thessalonica, formerly Therma, at the inmost recess of the Thermaic gulph, there anxiously to await the return of his ambassadors from Rome. During the interval between the battle of Kynocephalæ and the conclusion of

His losses in Peloponnesus.

⁷ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17. Conf. ⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19. Hieronym. in Daniel; c. xi.

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peace, his success against the Dardanians was the only circumstance that chequered the general gloom of his fortune. In the Peloponnesus, in Greece beyond the Isthmus, and on the coasts of Lesser Asia, his enemies were every where triumphant; for though the Romans had granted him a truce, this did not suspend the exertions of their Achæan and Rhodian allies. Androstenes, now commanding for him in Peloponnesus, was encountered by the Achæans at Cleonæ, near the eastern bank of the Nemea, a river dividing the territories of Corinth and Sicyon, and so named because it flows into the Corinthian gulph from the district Nemea in Argolis, renowned for the Nemean games. The Achæans were commanded by Nicostratus, then pretor, a general of abilities and enterprise. He totally defeated Androstenes, killed fifteen hundred of his men, and made three hundred prisoners. The remains of the discomfited army threw themselves into Corinth, the only retreat for them now open in all Peloponnesus⁹.

Submission
of the A-
carnanians.
Olymp.
exlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

In Greece beyond the Isthmus, the only nations adverse to the Roman cause were the Acarnanians and Bœotians, the former out of fidelity to their ancient alliance with Philip, and their high sense of honour¹⁰; the latter from sentiments and principles of a quite contrary complexion. With uncommon bravery, seconded by skill and perseverance, the Acarnanians in their capital Leucas, opposed Lucius Quintius, the proconsul's brother, who had attacked them with his fleet from Corcyra; nor did they think of capitulation, until they learned the fatal issue of the battle of Kynocephalæ. Upon this melancholy intelligence, the capital, as well as all the inferior cities of Acarnania, craved the protection of the victors¹¹.

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. & seq. Philocles still held Corinth for Philip, but that general had afforded grounds for suspecting his fidelity; and fatally betrayed his master, as will be hereafter seen, in a concern still dearer to him than the Corinthian citadel. Philip's suspicions of

Philocles had made him commit his army in the field, about 6,000 men, to Androstenes; but he durst not punish, and feared to offend his Corinthian governor.

¹⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 17.

We have seen in a former chapter, how the Bœotians were surprised into a reluctant alliance with Rome. But Brachylles, their banished pretor, with many of his adherents, having followed the fortunes of Philip, had been taken among other prisoners in the service of that prince. Upon an application to the proconsul from the commonwealth of Bœotia, these prisoners were restored to their country rather through policy than generosity; for Quintius, who was apprised of the movements of Antiochus, foresaw new hostilities on the part of that prince, still more dangerous than those just terminated with Philip, and, therefore, thought it incumbent on him to establish throughout Greece, which was likely to be the scene of the approaching conflict, the fair renown of the Romans, not only for warlike valour, but for indulgence and clemency. Brachylles and his partisans had no sooner returned to their country, than its councils were filled with discord. Instead of ascribing their release to the indulgence of the Roman general, they procured a deputation of their countrymen to thank Philip, as if they had been solely indebted to him for that favour, in which he had really no share. Those of the Bœotians, who adhered to the cause of Rome, were calumniated or insulted; their pretensions were slighted at every competition for office or emolument: and in the room of Zeuxippus, a man highly acceptable to the Romans, Brachylles, chief of the adverse faction, was elected pretor. The defeated party felt the utmost indignation at these proceedings, and complained that, if their adversaries could behave with such insolence, when the legions were almost at their gates, their own condition would be altogether deplorable when these forces should return to Italy, and Bœotia be left at the mercy of the Macedonian faction. Zeuxippus knew no better method both for removing the immediate grievance, and warding off the apprehended danger, than the destruction of Brachylles. He proposed his assassination to Quintius; but the Roman declined to have any concern in so black a transaction. Brachylles, however, was assassinated,

CHAP.
XIX.Factions in
Bœotia.—
Assassina-
tion of the
pretor Bra-
chylles.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

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as he returned from a drunken festival surrounded by a crowd of buffoons and parasites, wretches contemptible for their profligacy in the most profligate of all the Greek commonwealths. His murderers were three Italians and three Etolians, who escaped undiscovered in the throng; and, as the death of Brachylles only increased the evils for which it had been deemed the remedy, Zeuxippus, the instigator of it, fled for refuge to Athens: Pistratus, the most noted of his adherents, was accused, seized, and executed¹².

Romans in
Bœotia robbed and
murdered.

But the death of one of the conspirators and the banishment of the other, did not satisfy the Bœotians for the loss of their pretor Brachylles. They felt the most implacable animosity to the Romans, whom they regarded as accomplices in his murder, and as the original authors of all their own misfortunes. Conscious of total inability to carry on an open war, they determined to have recourse to vengeance more secret, but not less effectual. While the proconsul kept his head quarters at Elataea in Phocis, his soldiers were indulged with furloughs to travel through the neighbouring districts, that they might, as inclination prompted them, gratify their curiosity or supply their wants. Of those who in such excursions entered the territory of Bœotia, few were observed to return: they were waylaid by assassins in secret lurking places; sometimes they were decoyed to shops and taverns, designedly left empty for the purpose of murder. As the Roman soldiers were well provided with money, avarice extended the havoc which vengeance had begun; and not less than five hundred of them were missing. Quintius sent ambassadors into Bœotia, accompanied with a proper detachment of troops, to inquire into the robberies and murders which he suspected. Many dead bodies were dragged up from the lake Copais, into which they had been sunk by weights for concealment. The cities of Coronæa and Acræphia, in the neighbourhood of that lake, were found to have

¹² Conf. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 26. l. xx. c. 7. l. xxiii. c. 2. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 27, 28.

infamously distinguished themselves above all other places in Bœotia, in these deeds of darkness. Quintius demanded from the general council of Bœotia, that the assassins should be punished; and that a talent¹³ should be paid for each Roman soldier that had disappeared. The Bœotians declined compliance, on pretence that, as nothing had been done by general consent, the public ought not to be punished for the crimes of individuals. The proconsul, therefore, after sending an embassy to the Achæans and Athenians to justify his resumption of arms, invaded the territory of Coronæa and Acræphia, and prepared to assault these obnoxious cities. In this extremity, the Bœotians thought proper to submit to whatever was required of them, only obtaining a mitigation of the mulct through the intercession of the Achæans¹⁴. Peace being thus reestablished, the proconsul withdrew to his former quarters at Elataæa, after committing the government of Bœotia to such persons as he had the least reason to distrust.

During these proceedings of the Romans in Greece, their Rhodian allies had been diligent to avail themselves of Philip's defeat at Kynocephalæ. They collected an army composed of Europeans, Asiatics, and even of many unknown nations of Africa, with all of whom their industrious island had been long linked in the bonds of amity and commerce; and invaded the Macedonian conquests in Caria, particularly the maritime district Peræa, which Philip in the height of his power had wrested from their republic. A battle was fought at Alabanda, in which the Rhodians obtained a decisive victory¹⁵. The strongholds of Stratoniceæ and Bargylæ saved the discomfited army, and were so ably defended by Dinocrates, Philip's general in Caria, that they continued to hold out, until assailed shortly afterwards by Antiochus, who usurped them to himself with equal disregard to the rights of the Rhodians his enemies, and of Philip his ally.

Operations
of the Rhodians
against
Philip's general in
Caria.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

¹³ 193*l.* 15*s.*¹⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 29.¹⁵ Id. *ibid.* c. 18.

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Articles of
peace
brought to
Philip from
Rome.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

Amidst these various events, all of them so adverse to Philip, his ambassadors returned from Rome; and together with them, ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Quintius in adjusting the peace with Macedon. The commissioners, among whom the Romans had taken care to send Sulpicius and Villius, who had successively commanded armies in Illyricum and Greece, repaired to the proconsul at his head quarters in Elataea, to which place he had just returned after punishing the crimes of the Bœotians. In this Phocian city, the conditions of peace were specified, of which only the outline had been drawn by the senate, but of which the particular articles had been left to the future decision of Quintius and his assessors. Assuming their complete rights as conquerors, these Romans prescribed, that before the Isthmian games, the celebration of which was fast approaching, Philip should surrender to them those cities in Greece still held by his garrisons; that all others in that country should be declared free; that the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from Thrace, from the narrow seas, and from Caria; and that all the Greek cities in those parts should resume their ancient laws and liberties. Philip was farther required to restore all prisoners and deserters; to surrender all his ships of war, except five small vessels, and a galley of sixteen banks of oars, destined rather for ostentation than use; and to pay a thousand talents, one half of that sum immediately, the remainder in the course of ten years. His son Demetrius was to remain at Rome until these conditions were fulfilled¹⁶.

Isthmian
games.—
Proclama-
tion of the
liberties of
Greece.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

Meantime the Isthmian games were at hand, a solemnity always crowded by spectators, both from the fondness of the Greeks for such shows, and from the central scene of exhibition. The Romans, also, were on this occasion to be present, from whom the Greeks expected publicly to hear their fate; and this circumstance, as it gave the deepest interest, brought vast accessions of people to the solemnity. Before the time

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30.

appointed for the games, Quintius with the commissioners proceeded from Elatæa to Anticyra, and from thence sailed to Corinth. The religious ceremonies had been performed; the spectators had taken their seats; and the combatants were prepared to commence their accustomed exhibitions. A herald, as usual, proceeded into the middle of the arena, but, being previously instructed by Quintius, instead of declaring, as on ordinary occasions, well known particulars concerning the games and those offering to contend in them, he proclaimed with a loud and clear voice in the name of the Romans and Titus Quintius their general, complete liberty, both civil and political, to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, the island of Eubœa, and the four districts of Thessaly: thus particularizing those communities that had longest submitted to the dominion of Macedon. The joy was greater than the minds of men could contain. Their sympathy with each other heightened its intensity. The herald was ordered by them to repeat sounds so pleasing to their ears; at the distinct hearing of which, the whole assembly was in commotion: the wrestlers and reciters disappeared, the noise of acclamation resounded from the two seas of Corinth, and such multitudes advanced to thank and salute the proconsul, that nothing short of the vigour of youth (he was then in his thirty-third year) and the alacrity derived from seeing his labours rewarded with so much public happiness, could have saved him from being overwhelmed and stifled by their cumbersome kindness. For many succeeding days, the games being hastily slurred over without interest, and without attention¹⁷, the deputies of the several states were solely occupied in congratulating each other, and in decreeing crowns and statues¹⁸ to Quintius and the Romans; men who had passed the seas, and by their own exertions and dangers, unlocked the chains of Greece, and restored to that country its hereditary freedom. The generosity of those remote strangers appeared in

¹⁷ Plutarch in Flamin.¹⁸ Appian, l. ix. c. 2.

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the more striking light, when contrasted with the selfish policy of Alexander's successors, who, though Greeks themselves, had so often deluded their unhappy brethren with unsubstantial prospects of liberty, only to plunge them the deeper into real servitude. But there was a nation, it seemed, in the western world, raised up by the bounty of heaven, to diffuse the inestimable blessings which itself enjoyed; to fight against unjust domination wherever it prevailed; and to spare neither labour, nor treasure, nor blood, to defend the cause of the injured, and to make law and right triumphant over brute force¹⁹.

Embassies
from the
Greek
kings, particularly
Antiochus.

To the celebration of the Isthmian games, which was regarded as the scene not merely of amusement, but of most important business, there had come ambassadors from Antiochus, Philip, Eumenes, and all the kings who, either from affection or policy, claimed connexion with Greece. These ambassadors, as well as deputies from the several republics, had most of them very serious affairs to transact with the proconsul; and, according to the custom of antiquity, their transactions were public. From respect to so great a prince, the minister sent by Antiochus was heard first. The object of his commission was to persuade Quintius and his assessors, that the king of Syria wished to maintain peace with the Romans and their allies. But his professions on this subject were belied by the evidence of facts. Antiochus, when he advanced westward to the Grecian sea, had no sooner found that Philip was defeated at Kynocéphalæ, than he hastened to invade his possessions in Caria and Mysia, and had made himself master of Bargylæ in the former province, and Abydus in the latter. These proceedings were totally incompatible with the views of Rome, which purposed to emancipate the cities of Caria, and to restore them to their ancient confederacy with the Rhodians; and which had not ordered Abydus, and other places near the Hellespont, to be evacuated by Philip, that strongholds so important because commanding the passage between Asia and Europe, might be

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 33.

seized by a prince equally ambitious and still more powerful. Quintius therefore answered the Syrian ambassador without any of that reserve or ambiguity, which had been thought necessary before the humiliation of the king of Macedon. He told him, that his master must relinquish his unjust conquests; that he must abstain from all vexations of the Greeks in Asia; and that he must no longer entertain the design, which his usurpations near the narrow seas made manifest, of passing personally into Europe, or of sending an army thither²⁰. After thus dismissing the Syrian, Quintius found little difficulty in settling all affairs amicably with the ambassadors of the other kings as well as with the Greek deputies²¹.

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Those of the Etolians alone, exclaimed against the terms of peace. They said that, while many distant commonwealths in Asia were to be restored to their ancient independence, the cities in Proper Greece, garrisoned by Philip, were to be surrendered to the Romans; and that this, in effect, was nothing but a transfer from one master to another: at the same time they complained of their own unworthy treatment, boasting that, without their assistance, the Romans could neither have defeated the king of Macedon, nor even have set foot in Greece²². These remonstrances, not altogether absurd, might have had some weight, had they come from any other quarter. But all knew, that the Etolians were provoked at not being allowed to recover those fortresses in the territories of their neighbours, from which they had formerly carried on their depredations; and none could imagine for a moment, that any generous concern for the public safety actuated a people whose insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, rendered them a disgrace to the Grecian name.

Complaints
of the Eto-
lians.

When the business of the assembly was concluded, Quintius still remained in Corinth, that he might superintend the complete execution of the treaty in that and the neighbouring districts. Most of the Roman commissioners dispersed, for the same purpose, to Thrace, to Caria, to the camps of

Transactions of the
Roman commis-
sioners.—
Cornelius' advice to
Philip and to the Eto-
lians.

²⁰ Polyb. l. xviii. c. 30. ²¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34. ²² Id. ibid. c. 35.

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Antiochus and of Philip. Cneius Cornelius, who was sent to the latter prince, after settling with him affairs of less moment, asked whether he might give him an advice that appeared highly seasonable and salutary. Philip replied, that nothing could please him more. Cornelius then said, that as the Romans were likely to be soon embroiled with Antiochus, it would be useful for Philip to send ambassadors to the senate, that the peace which he had just obtained might be followed by a closer intimacy and real confidential friendship with the republic: otherwise the Romans might suspect that, notwithstanding his declared purpose of maintaining peace, he only lay in wait for a favourable opportunity of cooperating with his ancient ally. Philip hearkened to the counsel, expressed his gratitude to the giver of it, and sent his ambassadors to Rome²³. From Tempè, where this conference was held, Cornelius crossed about seventy miles over Greece to Thermum, the ancient capital of Etolia, and the stated place of convention for the deputies of that district. The Etolians complained in their usual offensive strain, that the Romans behaved to them now, with a degree of haughtiness which they had not assumed during the dependence of the Macedonian war. Without entering with them into any altercation on that subject, Cornelius gave them his advice, that if in any particular they thought themselves aggrieved, they should send their ambassadors to Rome; every equitable request, he said, would be granted by the senate. The Etolians, because they saw no better remedy, consented to have recourse to this measure²⁴.

Antiochus' generals besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B. C. 196.

Meanwhile Antiochus, though he talked only of peace, continued to prosecute his conquests in Lesser Asia. Even the free cities on the western coast, which had entered into treaties with his ancestors on a footing of independence, either submitted to his arms, or were kept in a state of siege both by sea and land. Smyrna and Lampsacus still continued to make a vigorous resistance, and Antiochus spared no exer-

²³ Tit. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 28.

²⁴ Id. *ibid*.

tions to take them, because the former encouraged what he called rebellion in all the neighbouring commonwealths of Ionia, and the latter inspired the same stubborn spirit into the cities in its vicinity around the narrow seas. But the impatience of a haughty mind, intoxicated by a long flow of prosperity, made him commit a work of time and perseverance to his generals. While they employed arms and negotiation against Smyrna and Lampsacus, the king crossed²⁵ the Hellespont into Thrace, and made himself master of the Chersonesus, a valuable slip of land about fifty miles long, and fifteen broad, adorned by eleven Greek cities²⁶, and which, though secured on the land side by a wall across the Isthmus of thirty-seven furlongs, was altogether defenceless against a naval armament. Having effected this conquest, Antiochus set himself to repair Lysimachia, which then lay in ruins at the neck of the Chersonesus. This city, which commemorated the name and transient empire of Lysimachus, had been destroyed by the Thracians; and though repeatedly rebuilt, had been as often demolished by those barbarians, who looked on it with hostile jealousy as a bulwark raised to control their savage independence. That no disturbance might be given to his workmen by those fierce tribes, Antiochus marched into their country, and repressed their perpetual tendency to aggression by making them feel the power of his arms.

His Thracian expedition.
Olymp. cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

At his return to Lysimachia, he was joined by the Roman commissioners. The king received them politely and hospitably, as the agents of a state with which he wished to live in peace; and civilities were continued on both sides, until a convention assembled for the discussion of public affairs. In this convention, Antiochus was assisted by the same ministers, whom he had before employed as ambassadors to the proconsul Quintius; the Roman commissioners not only from Thrace, but from Caria, were present; there came deputies

Conferences with the Roman commissioners at Lysimachia.

²⁵ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38.

²⁶ History of Ancient Greece, c. xxvii.

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also from the besieged cities Smyrna and Lampsacus. The Romans did not dissemble, that the whole of the king's proceedings, since he had in the former year left Antioch, were highly offensive to their republic. They told him that he must instantly abandon the conquests that he had made belonging either to Egypt, their ancient ally, or to Macedon, of late become their tributary. Antiochus replied, that with Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, he had settled all differences, and betrothed to that prince his daughter Cleopatra. That as to the cities, in Caria or in Thrace, which were claimed either by Ptolemy or by Philip, they had been unjustly wrested from his ancestors, during the distractions of the Syrian monarchy. But he had determined to vindicate his undoubted rights as successor to Seleucus Nicator, and was now repairing Lysimachia which belonged to the heirs of Seleucus by virtue of his victory over Lysimachus. "That unfortunate city, once the seat of a great kingdom, had been levelled to the ground by hostile barbarians, unrelenting foes to every noble pursuit and every praiseworthy art. But he had resolved in spite of their blind fury, that Lysimachia should resume its pristine splendour, and contain the palace of his younger son Seleucus, whose name alone asserted fair pretensions to dominion over Thrace." "The Romans," he thought, "were too busy with their remonstrances; he concerned not himself about their transactions in Italy, he knew not why they should interfere unseasonably in the affairs of the East." To this speech of the king, the deputies of Smyrna began to reply; but as they treated his pretensions with great freedom, and proceeded in strong terms to arraign his injustice, still addressing themselves to the Roman commissioners, Antiochus said, that he would no longer hear such language. Had it become necessary to discuss his interests before judges, he would have chosen for umpires not the Romans, but the Rhodians, an Asiatic power; and thus saying, he angrily dissolved the assembly²⁷.

²⁷ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 39.

A report at this time reached Lysimachia, which engrossed the attention of both parties, and hindered them from thinking of any future meeting. The intelligence was conveyed both to Antiochus and the Romans, that young Ptolemy had been cut off by conspiracy at Alexandria²⁸. We shall explain presently the cause of this rumour, which, being believed on both sides, was on both carefully concealed, each party hastening to turn such an important event to his advantage. Antiochus intrusted to his son Seleucus the affairs of Thrace, sent an embassy to the proconsul Quintius, and sailed with nearly his whole fleet towards Egypt, in his sanguine credulity considering the vacant throne as his own. At Patara in Lycia, he first learned the falsehood of the report: a mutiny among his sailors detained him on the coast of Pamphylia. To appease this sedition, and compensate for his own disappointment, he purposed to invade and plunder the rich island of Cyprus, then dependent on Egypt, but was overtaken by a tremendous storm near the coast of Cilicia, which destroyed the best part of his fleet. With the remainder, he sailed to Seleucia Pieria, and giving orders for the repair of his shattered ships, and the rebuilding of new ones in this and the neighbouring harbours of Syria and Phœnicia, he conducted his army into winter quarters at Antioch²⁹.

The report of Ptolemy's murder originated in a conspiracy really formed against that prince by Scopas the Etolian, who, not contented with the immense riches which he had amassed in the service of Egypt, had the presumption to aspire to the throne. But as his imprudence equalled his audacity, the criminal design was discovered by Aristomenes the Acarnanian before it was ripe for execution; and Scopas was surprised, seized, and put to death with all his accomplices. The most noted of these accomplices was Dicæarchus, a sea commander formerly employed by Philip of Macedon, who, when he sailed against the unfortunate islands called Cyclades, erected altars to impiety and injus-

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the murder
of young
Ptolemy—
Antiochus'
proceed-
ings there-
on.
Olymp.
cxlvi.
B. C. 196.Real con-
spiracy
against
Ptolemy—
Punish-
ment of
its author.²⁸ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 4²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 41.

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tice. He was the only one of the traitors who died by torture; a punishment never less odious than when inflicted on his monstrous crimes. Shortly after this transaction, the regency of Egypt celebrated the festival of Ptolemy's coronation before he entered his fifteenth year³⁰. It was performed with great magnificence; and Ptolemy thenceforward reigned in his own person, though the government continued to be carried on by the able and faithful Aristomenes³¹.

Quintius' popular proceedings in Greece. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 195.

During these proceedings in the East, Quintius remained with his army in Greece, and obtained more fame by his popular manners and equity, than he had formerly acquired by his great military success. The Romans were so much pleased with his behaviour, that they committed to his management whatever remained to be done for tranquillizing that country, and rendering it subservient to their views. He had repressed the insolence of the Etolians; he had punished the crimes of the Boeotians; he had completely humbled Philip. But one enemy still remained in the bowels of Greece, without the extirpation of whom, the great work of liberty and security could not be deemed perfect. We have seen how Philip, in the midst of his difficulties, delivered the city of Argos as a deposit into the hands of Nabis the energetic tyrant of Sparta. Nabis, with a degree of treachery worthy of his character, instantly betrayed his trust, entered into a correspondence with Quintius, supplied that general with a body of troops to act against Macedon, and expected to retain Argos as the reward of his perfidy. To deliberate on this matter, the proconsul summoned a convention of the allies to Corinth. The Achæans, Athenians, Thessalians, in a word, all the states which had either preserved their independence, or which had been recently emancipated, appeared

³⁰ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38. This was in the 9th from the death of Philopater, or the 9th year of the reign of τὸν νεόν, "the young king Epiphanes;" according to the famous inscription taken from the

French at the surrender of Alexandria, and deposited with other monuments from Egypt in the court of the British Museum, June 1803. Of this more hereafter.

³¹ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36—38.

in this assembly by their deputies: even the Etolians, refractory as they always were, did not think fit to be absent. Quintius opened the business, by observing, that for the war carried on against Philip, the Greeks and Romans had each their separate motives, and had united in punishing a prince notoriously hostile to both. But the question, which he now submitted to their decision, was of a nature altogether different, since it concerned the Greeks only: would they allow Argos, a city ancient and noble, and in the very heart of Peloponnesus, to remain a prey to the tyrant Nabis? This was the subject which he had to propose for their deliberation, determined to be guided in his conduct by the opinion of the majority³². Upon this, the chief of the Athenian deputation rose up, and observed, that the generosity of Rome was beyond all praise, which, when its assistance was implored, had defended the Greeks against Philip, and which now, spontaneously and without solicitation, was ready to defend them against a tyrant still more detestable. The orator then expressed his indignation against those who, affecting to pry into the secrets of futurity, were disposed rather to calumniate the Romans for supposed events, never likely to happen, than to express due gratitude for that beneficent and glorious revolution in the affairs of Greece, which had been already happily accomplished.

This latter observation, appearing to glance at the Etolians, called up Alexander the Isian, the principal deputy from that people, a man with whose character the reader is not unacquainted. He began by arraigning the Athenians, who, he said, had of late years debased themselves as much by a mean selfishness and the vileness of flattery, as their ancestors had formerly been illustrious for their generous and manly defence of the common interests of public and universal liberty. With regard to the present matter of liberation, he knew that Argos was only to be taken from Nabis, that it might be given to the Achæans, who had

The meanness of the Greeks and selfish policy of the Romans exposed by Alexander the Etolian.

³² Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 22.

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formerly followed the standard of Philip, and who were to receive this boon for shamefully deserting that prince in the midst of his adversity; whereas the Etolians, who had always been allies to Rome, and who had never violated their engagements, were deprived of the promised rewards of their signal success against Macedon. In their league with the Romans against that power, it had been stipulated, that all conquered cities and territories should belong to the Etolians; that money, prisoners, movable property alone, should fall to the share of the Romans: yet that usurping people, while they flattered their allies with a vain shadow of freedom, had occupied with their own garrisons Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, places which, in the hands of Philip, they had called the fetters of Greece. Nabis and Argos were only mere pretences for employing their armies abroad, until they had gratified their utmost views of ambition. Let them withdraw their legions to Italy: the Etolians undertook, that Nabis should either voluntarily relinquish Argos, or be compelled by force of arms to submit to the consenting will of Greece⁸³.

Answered
by Aristæ-
nus pretor
of the
Achæans.

This speech of Alexander, less absurd than unseasonable, was answered with much indignation by Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans. Forbid it, he exclaimed, O Jupiter! and Argive Juno! that a city under your immemorial protection should ever become the impious prize of an ignoble combat between the bloodthirsty tyrant Nabis, and murderous Etolian robbers! The sea, interposed between us and Etolia, is not sufficient for our defence. How wretched would be our lot, were those unprincipled ruffians to plant themselves in the heart of Peloponnesus? The common interest requires, that, before the Roman armies are withdrawn, not only Argos should be rescued from the hands of Nabis, but measures of the utmost vigour adopted for restraining in future the insufferable enormities of the Etolians. Universal acclamations from all sides of the assembly justified the

⁸³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 23.

strong language of Aristænus, and rendered it altogether unnecessary for Quintius to utter a single word in defence of the proceedings of his country. War against Nabis was decreed by general consent: the deputies returned home to hasten their respective levies; Quintius ordered his lieutenants to march from Elatæa; he sent an ambassador even into Etolia, requiring that state, conformably to the public resolution of the confederates, to raise its contingent of troops for the support of the common cause³⁴.

Though this requisition was not complied with, the army was one of the most numerous that ever entered Peloponnusus. It proceeded by hasty marches to Argos, and encamped within four miles of the city. The government of the place had been intrusted by Nabis to his son-in-law Pythagoras, who was also his wife's brother; for a complication of domestic ties was thought necessary by Nabis to fix a brave and able man in his service. Such was Pythagoras; whose fidelity and vigilance were put to the test, even before he encountered the assault of the Romans. At the bare rumour of their approach, Damocles, a young Argive, aspired to the fame of liberating his country without the aid of strangers. His design was discovered by Pythagoras, who sent one of his guards to summon him from the midst of his associates. Damocles, perceiving that the conspiracy was discovered, encouraged his companions to die with arms in their hands, rather than suffer, unrevenged, the tortures ready to be inflicted on them. They followed him to the marketplace, summoning the Argives to liberty. None obeyed the invitation, such was the fear of Pythagoras: the conspirators were overpowered; several slain; many thrown into confinement, of whom a part escaped in the following night, by ropes let down from their prison walls, and sought refuge in the Roman camp. The fugitives affirmed to Quintius that their insurrection would have been crowned with success, had his army been nearer to Argos, and would not even now be with-

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Wretched
state of Ar-
gos.
(Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

³⁴ Id. c. 24.

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out effect, if he advanced in force to the walls. Quintius therefore sent forward a detachment of lightarmed troops and cavalry, to a place of exercise called Cylabaris, from the tomb of an ancient king of that name, only three hundred paces from the city. But instead of a rising of the townsmen in his favour, a party of the garrison made a spirited sally from the gates. The Lacedæmonians, however, after a stout combat, were repelled, and Quintius encamped the same day on the field of battle. Having waited twenty-four hours longer, without perceiving any symptoms of commotion in the place, he called a council to deliberate whether he should proceed to an assault. Most of the allies strongly urged that measure, but Aristæus, pretor of the Achæans, was anxious to prevent the destruction of a place, which he hoped might soon be reunited to the Achæan league. Quintius also was unwilling to sully his fair laurels by the ruin of so ancient and so venerable a city. It was determined therefore to attack the tyrant in Laconia itself, on the presumption that when his own kingdom became the seat of a desolating war, Argos could not long be retained in subjection by him³⁵.

War in La-
conia
against
the tyrant
Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

For making this attack, by sea as well as land, the proconsul called his brother Lucius, with forty galleys, from the harbours of Acarnania: half that number of ships was brought by Sosilaus, admiral of the Rhodians: Eumenes, emulating the active zeal of his father Attalus, sailed with ten stout galleys to the Cyclades, accompanied by more than thirty vessels of a smaller size. While this armament invaded the seacoast of Laconia, and gained possession of one harbour after another, Quintius conducted his army towards Sparta, in which city Nabis had fortified himself by new bulwarks. His mercenaries consisted of outlaws, fugitives, emancipated slaves, and devoted bands of unprincipled Cretans; for with Crete, the tyrant had long maintained an intimate correspondence, and even gained possession of several districts in that

³⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 35. & seq.

island, which supplied him with instruments the fittest for his purposes. With upwards of twenty thousand of such troops, still more formidable by their quality than their numbers, Nabis had embodied reluctant crowds of armed rustics from all parts of Laconia; and his son-in-law Pythagoras, equally distinguished by zeal and enterprise, had contrived, after the proconsul's departure from Argos, to drain with safety the garrison of that place, and to throw himself with three thousand men into Sparta. In advancing thither, the proconsul, contrary to his expectation, found the narrow roads unoccupied. But this was the tyrant's artifice for throwing him off his guard, and which so far succeeded, that the Romans were surprised by a sudden sally, while they took up ground for their encampment. In moving from the northern to the southern side of the city, they were again attacked with great fury; and though both sallies were repelled with considerable loss to the assailants, the boldness of such enterprises taught Quintius what obstinate resistance he must expect in his endeavours to make himself master of the place. He therefore fixed his camp at Amyclæ, a few miles south of Sparta, and after desolating that beautiful and rich district, directed his ravages against the valley under mount Taygetus, and extended them from thence to the sea. These movements brought him into the neighbourhood of his brother, who was employed in the siege of Gythium, the principal harbour of Laconia. The place had been defended with the utmost obstinacy, and still made such vigorous resistance, that Quintius allowed the garrison to capitulate. The news of the capture of Gythium, and that his soldiers had been granted their lives, turned the thoughts of Nabis towards peace³⁶.

Upon demand made by a herald, he was allowed to send ambassadors to the allied camp. He sent only his son-in-law Pythagoras; and with one sole request, that he might be admitted to a conference with the Roman general. The place

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Confer-
ence of
Quintius
with Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

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appointed was a plain, overlooked on both sides by rising grounds, on which select bodies of troops from either party took their station. Nabis came attended by a few of his life-guards: the proconsul was accompanied by his brother Lucius, by king Eumenes, by Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians, and by Aristænus the Achæan pretor. Nabis began by accusing the Romans of inconstancy, in having formerly accepted him for an ally, and, without the smallest offence on his part, now treating him as an enemy. You formerly called me king, I am now denominated a tyrant! because, forsooth, I have given liberty to slaves, and divided small portions of land to the poor who wanted bread. Do not, Quintius, estimate the Spartan institutions by your own. You Romans hold the multitude in no account, and consider the many as made for the conveniency of the few. "Lycurgus was of a different mind; and by equalizing possessions and honours, sought to diffuse patriotism and valour through the community at large. Yet, by whatever title you may call me, I am the same man with whom you before treated amicably; nor have my circumstances, since that time, undergone the smallest alteration." In this speech Nabis played the sophist; but in the character of sophist, Quintius was not to be outdone by him. Accordingly, in making his reply, the Roman affirmed that his former transaction with Nabis ought not to be considered in the light of a treaty, since no friendly engagement could take place between the deliverers of Greece from slavery, and the fiercest and most sanguinary of usurpers. The Romans had not crossed the seas to free from the dominion of Philip, Jassus, Bargylæ, and other places almost unknown in history, and at the same time to leave at the mercy of Nabis, Argos and Lacedæmon, two illustrious luminaries of Peloponnesus. They meant to render their work complete, and to punish the violator of every right most essential to society, who had the impudence to justify his enormities by the misapplied example of Lycurgus; an example preposterous

in the mouth of one who had filled the best regulated commonwealths with rapine and murder; who had usurped Messenè, a city in alliance with Rome; and who, infesting by his piracies the seas round the Malian promontory, had rendered them more hostile to the Romans than were the coasts of Macedon in the time of open war with Philip. By two things chiefly a state of hostility with any nation is manifested; a co-operation with its declared foes, and the commission of injuries against its allies; in both respects Nabis was criminal, since he had assisted Philip, and possessed himself of Messenè by force of arms³⁷.

When Quintius finished his discourse, Aristæus, pretor of the Achæans, affecting compassion for Nabis, exhorted him to avert approaching ruin, by relinquishing his unjust acquisitions, and abdicating his illegal authority. To determine him to this latter resolution, he mentioned several examples of usurpers, not less odious than himself, who by a return to the paths of rectitude, had, after divesting themselves of their ill gotten power, lived to old age, beloved and honoured by their fellow citizens. Nabis said, in reply, that he was ready to meet the wish of the Romans, and to withdraw his garrison from Argos. As to the other conditions required of him, he desired to have them in writing, that he might enjoy leisure to discuss them with his friends³⁸.

This being readily granted, the proconsul, in the meantime, summoned a council of his allies. They unanimously exhorted him to persevere in hostility, until the complete destruction of the enemy, since the war ought never to have been undertaken, unless it were to be brought to this issue, because any accommodation that could be entered into with Nabis, would only tend to sanction his execrable tyranny. But Quintius had other views. The difficulties which he had encountered in gaining Gythium, made him sensible of the waste of time and labour necessary for the conquest of Sparta.

Different views of Quintius and of his allies—his address in bringing them over to his sentiments.

³⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 32.

³⁸ Ibid. c. 33.

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Villius, besides, had just returned from Antiochus, with accounts of the hostile dispositions, and powerful preparations of that prince; if the Roman forces were occupied in a tedious blockade, what was to hinder Antiochus, who had again invaded Thrace, from passing southward, and after he had either disarmed the resentment of Philip, or perhaps renewed his friendship with that ancient ally, from entering Greece, and possessing himself of its strongholds? These and other arguments urged by Quintius proved ineffectual; his allies continued eager for prosecuting the war against Nabis to the utmost extremity, and for undertaking without delay the siege of Sparta. Seeing it impossible to alter this resolution by direct means, Quintius had recourse to that oblique dexterity, of which he was a consummate master. With my hearty concurrence, he said, you shall attack Sparta, and destroy the tyrant in his capital. But you will consider that, though we have advanced our army to the walls, there has been no commotion, no symptom of revolt in the city. The place, strong in itself, and defended by a numerous, firm, and well provided garrison, must be conquered by a long and difficult siege. We have desolated the circumjacent country; our provisions must be brought from a distance; great expense must be incurred for the weapons and engines requisite in so arduous an enterprise. The winter, besides, is at hand, which will augment all our difficulties; do you therefore write home to your respective states, to know what supplies of money and corn they can conveniently furnish, before we engage in an undertaking which, if once begun, it will be disgraceful to relinquish. Quintius thus recalled the several allies to a sense of their domestic evils; the emptiness of their public treasuries, the slowness and uncertainty of private contributions, the supine negligence of many who remained at home, together with their invidious misrepresentations of those who served abroad; above all, the extreme difficulty of procuring any

thing like unanimity and concord among men in the tumultuary ferment of newly recovered freedom ³⁹. CHAP
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These considerations wrought such a sudden change in their minds that they requested the Roman general to adjust matters with Nabis as he judged most convenient. Accordingly, Quintius granted a truce of six months to the tyrant, on condition that he should evacuate the Argive and Messenian territories; restore to their several countries all prisoners and deserters; surrender all his shipping, except a few boats; divest himself of his possessions in Crete, and no longer maintain any connexion with that island; deliver five hostages such as the Romans thought proper to name, and among them Armenes his only son; and that he should pay down one hundred talents immediately, and stipulate to pay an annual contribution of fifty talents for the term of eight years. To these articles it was added, that the tyrant should restore their wives and children and effects to the exiled Lacedæmonians. Of these unhappy men there were many now following the Roman camp; and among them Agesipolis, who, if the ancient government had subsisted, would have been one of the rightful kings of Sparta: their wives, whom Nabis had subjected to the embraces of his ruffians and slave, were by this treaty to be recovered by them, with the express condition, however, that no woman against her own will, should be sent back to her husband ⁴⁰.

When the harsh terms of peace were made known at Sparta, they inflamed the tyrant's partisans with all the madness of anger. Nabis himself could not endure the thoughts of surrendering his shipping, and thereby depriving himself of the hopes of recovering the maritime districts, which he had found by experience to be the nursery of men fittest for his purpose. When he perceived the violence of the popular current, he determined still to augment its force, by loading the treaty with many false conditions of far greater rigour.

Terms
granted to
Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

Assault of
Sparta—
Resisted by
setting the
city on fire.

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 34, et seq.

⁴⁰ Id. ibid

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The multitude encouraged him to spurn such a disgraceful peace, as worse than the most disastrous war: "fortune would favour their bravery; before Sparta could be taken, Antiochus and the Etolians would come to their assistance, and enable them to repel an enemy equally inexorable and insatiable." The tumult and hurry of men running to mount the bulwarks, first taught the proconsul that all thoughts of accommodation were laid aside. Several days were consumed by him in examining the assailable parts of the city; in repressing some furious sallies; and in drawing to his camp the forces that had been employed against the seacoast of Lacedæmonia. When his whole army was reunited, it did not fall short of fifty thousand men. As delay in the present state of his affairs, might be attended with great inconvenience, he determined on making a general assault, and attacking the city on all sides at once, by escalade, by fire, and by batteries. His men gained access into the place; they cut down the Lacedæmonians who opposed them in the streets; Nabis' mercenaries were repelled, and the tyrant giving up all for lost, was only anxious about providing for his personal safety. But in this emergency, his dauntless son-in-law Pythagoras, retaining all his presence of mind and activity, raised a skilful conflagration in such fit places that the Romans who had proceeded farthest, were in danger of being intercepted by it, while those left behind were prevented from advancing to their rescue. Under these circumstances, Quintius sounded a retreat and relinquished his hold of a city which he wished to take, not to destroy⁴¹.

Nabis obtains peace.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B.C. 195.

During the following days, the besieged were kept in such perpetual alarm that it seemed advisable to admit the propositions that had formerly been rejected. To intimate this disposition, Pythagoras, who to the fiercest courage added the utmost meanness of submission, whenever it suited his interest, came to crave an audience of the proconsul. He was at first commanded to quit the camp: and

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 37—39.

only heard at length in consequence of his prostrating himself on the ground at Quintius' feet with tears of the humblest supplication. In this manner he obtained peace on the terms originally proposed; the money and hostages were immediately sent to the Roman general⁴².

About the same time that Sparta thus submitted, Argos obtained its liberty. The Argives had been apprised of the danger of the former city, and the ruin ready to fall on Nabis. Pythagoras had withdrawn the best part of the garrison that bridled them. At the summons of their townsman Archippus, they flew to arms, and overwhelmed the Lacedæmonians still left in the citadel; but even in the midst of tumult and blood, respected the obligations of gratitude, by dismissing unhurt Timocrates, an Achæan exile of Pellenè, whom Pythagoras set over them, because he had conducted himself mildly in the exercise of his authority⁴³. After this successful expedition in the Peloponnese, Quintius prepared to conduct his army northwards to their former quarters at Elatæa in Phocis. His brother Lucius, king Eumenes, and Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians joined their respective fleets.

In marching towards Phocis, the Romans stopped at Argos, and beheld in that neighbourhood the Nemean games, which had been intermitted at the preceding period of celebration on account of the servitude of the Argive capital. Quintius presided in the assembly at the desire of the grateful Argives, and was himself, as the author of their liberties, the most admired part of the spectacle. During his winter quarters at Elatæa, the proconsul's pavilion was converted into a tribunal of political justice. Innumerable references were made to him with respect to the internal arrangements of the several states, as well as concerning their disputed interests with each other; and all parties retired from his presence with a profound sense of his sagacity and integrity. Early in the spring, he summoned to Corinth

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Argos recovers liberty.
Olymp. exlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

Popular proceedings of Quintius.
Olymp. exlvi. 2, 3.
B. C. 195—194.

⁴² Tit. Liv. xxxiv. c. 40.

⁴³ Id. *ibid.*

CHAP. XIX. a convention of deputies from his allies. To this assembly, more crowded than on any former occasion, he explained his principles and the drift of his past proceedings; and, if he did not really feel the deepest concern for the happiness of Greece, he had at least the address to persuade his audience, that this was his prevailing sentiment. While he detailed those maxims of sound policy, which he might have learned from the ancestors of the people to whom he spoke, expatiated on the value of equal laws and impartial government, nicely discriminated between liberty and licentiousness, and above all, exhorted the Greeks to concord, which he said would render them invincible, such paternal admonitions drew tears of joy from the multitude: Quintius sympathized with their feelings, and his own tears often interrupted his discourse. He then told them, that before he sailed for Italy, the Roman garrisons should evacuate Chalcis and Demetrias; and that, before the convention was dissolved, they should see his soldiers descend from the citadel to which he pointed, that Corinth might return, as a free commonwealth, into the bosom of the Achæan league⁴⁴. He concluded by requesting, that all Romans who had been sold as captives into Greece, during the late Punic war, might be ransomed by the several states in which they were found, and sent to him into Thessaly before his embarkation. The hearers thanked him with acclamations for reminding them of so just and pious a duty: and they afterwards performed it, dear as it cost them. In Achaia alone, the expense of redemption amounted to a hundred talents⁴⁵, at five hundred drachmas, about sixteen pounds, for each individual. The aggregate therefore of Roman captives in that country alone, was not less than twelve hundred: how great then must have been their number throughout the Greek states collectively⁴⁶.

His progress through

The acclamations of the assembly were renewed at beholding the foreign garrison on its march from the Acro-

⁴⁴ Plutarch in Flamin. ⁴⁵ About 20,000*l*. ⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 50

Corinthus. Quintius soon overtook this body of men in their way to join the army in Phocis. He there gave orders to his lieutenants to proceed with their respective forces through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum, the harbour nearest to Italy, at which his brother Lucius was commanded to have the transports in readiness. While proper measures were carrying into execution for ransoming and collecting the Roman captives, and for conveying them together with the troops, treasures, and hostages across the Hadriatic, the proconsul made a progress through all the northern states of Greece, not excepting the island of Eubœa, and every where performed the meritorious offices expected from him. In Eubœa he withdrew the Roman garrisons from Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria; assembled deputies from the several cities in the island; reconciled their differences with each other; and made the necessary arrangements for enabling them, as a free people, to resist the threatened encroachments of Antiochus. With the same views, he visited all the cities on the continent, and every where placed the government in the hands of those who had most interest in its safety⁴⁷. He then joined his fleet and army at Oricum; and, after an absence of nearly four years, returned to Rome to the enjoyment of his well merited triumph. In this splendid procession, he displayed the golden crowns, the marble statues, and sculptured vases, which were partly the offerings of allied commonwealths, and partly the spoils of conquered enemies; the noble hostages who followed his car, among whom were Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis; the great quantities of precious metals which either in coin or bullion were to be consigned to the public treasury; above all, the grateful multitudes of ransomed Romans, whose heads, shaved bare, indicated the miserable condition of slavery from which he had rescued them⁴⁸. The applauses of the multitude were unbounded; but a proof still more important of public favour happened shortly afterwards at the

CHAP.
XIX.Greece
previous to
his with-
drawing his
army from
that coun-
try.His recep-
tion and
unrivalled
credit at
Rome.
Olymp.
cxvi. 3.
B. C. 194.⁴⁷ Plutarch in Flamin.⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 52.

CHAP.
XIX

election of new consuls in the room of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minutius. There had never on any former occasion been so many distinguished competitors; but two men, Lucius Quintius, and Scipio Nasica, turned on them solely the eyes of the public, because the emulation between them was to decide the rivalry of fame between their brothers Titus Quintius and Scipio Africanus. It was determined in favour of the former: his brother Lucius, without any high personal claim, was chosen consul in opposition to Scipio Nasica, who, a dozen years before, had been appointed by the senate as the best man in Rome to conduct the Pessinuntian goddess to the temple of victory; who was supported by the whole credit of the Cornelian family, of which the Scipios were a branch; a Cornelius, too, being the consul who presided in the elective assembly⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 10.

CHAPTER XX.

Rome the Seat of Negotiation. Causes of the War with Antiochus. Its Instigators; Eumenes, Hannibal, and Thoas. Affairs of Greece. Philopœmen's War of Stratagem with Nabis. Opposite Counsels given to Antiochus by Hannibal and Thoas. He arrives in Greece. His Transactions there. Battle of Thermopylæ. He returns to Ephesus. His Measures for Defence. Seafight off Corycus. A Rhodian Fleet captured by Treachery. Pergamus invaded. The Rhodians and Romans intercept Antiochus' Succours under Hannibal and Apollonius. Seafights of Eurymedon and Myonnesus. The Scipios in Asia. Romans visit Troy. Decisive Battle of Magnesia. Conditions of Peace with Antiochus. General Arrangements with regard to Greek Cities in Asia. Manlius' Expedition against the Gauls. Siege of Ambracia. Humiliation of the Etolians.

BY relinquishing their hold of Greece, and drawing home their legions, the Romans adorned their laurels with the fair renown of moderation and clemency. Their capital became thenceforward the seat of embassies from allies whom they had protected, enemies whom they had conquered and pardoned, republics reinstated by them in the enjoyment of liberty, and kings, who either courted their friendship, or who, notwithstanding some grounds of quarrel, still hoped to avert their hostility. Of the last description was Antiochus; on whose part, Menippus and Hegesionax, two Syrian Greeks, appeared in the senate. That council having heard the ministers of other powers, with none of whom there was any difficulty, committed the discussion with the Syrians, as involving matters of a more intricate nature, to Quintius Flamininus, and the same persons who had assisted him in settling the affairs of Greece. These persons were empowered to answer the ambassadors of the king in the way that

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Rome the
general
seat of ne-
gotiation.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 4.
B. C. 193.

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Her trans-
actions
with am-
bassadors
from Syria.

appeared to them most suitable to the interests and honour of the commonwealth.

In the conference held for this purpose, Menippus declared¹, that he knew not of any peculiarity that perplexed the object of his mission. Between nations, there were only three kinds of transactions or treaties; the first, when having waged an unfortunate war, the vanquished obtained peace by submitting to the will of the victors: the second, when the struggle being undecisive and its issue doubtful, matters in dispute were adjusted, by mutual consent, on the footing either of ancient right, or of actual possession: the third kind of treaty was altogether simple, when powers entered into friendship, that had never before been at variance; and this last was the relation in which Antiochus stood to the Romans. To this Quintius replied, “since, by enumerating and dividing treaties, you show a wish to reason correctly, I also will propose distinctly, the only alternative, on which any amicable engagement between us can take place. If Antiochus expects that the Romans should not interfere in the affairs of Asia, he must withdraw his garrisons from Europe: while he occupies a single post in the West, he must not be surprised that the Romans should be watchful to defend their old allies in the East, and earnest to acquire new ones. Hegesionax, upon this, observed, that the condition was unequal. The Romans could not justly lay claim to any portion of Asia; but his master, by right of inheritance from the First Seleucus, conqueror of Lysimachus, was legitimate lord of Thrace and other European countries. His possessions in the Thracian Chersonesus and neighbouring districts, he held by another, and, if possible, still more respectable title. He had rescued them from hostile Barbarians, repaired their ruined cities, and restored them from gloomy desolation to the splendour of social and civilized life. It concerned his honour, to retain dominions so honourably acquired.” Quintius replied calmly, “Since honour is the main

¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57, et seq.

consideration, as it ought surely to be with so great a king, would not this object be attained better by emancipating all Greek cities, wherever situate, rather than by reducing any of them into reluctant vassalage. If Antiochus' glory requires that he should assert a dominion, which, though the great founder of his house claimed, none of his nearer progenitors ever really held, how much more is the glory of Rome interested, after delivering from the yoke of Philip the Greeks inhabiting Europe, to rescue the Greeks in Asia also from oppression and slavery. The Eolians and Ionians did not cross the seas, that they might be slaves to eastern kings, but that they might propagate and diffuse a race of enlightened freemen through the finest regions of the earth." The Syrians were not empowered, they said, to make concessions, by which the empire of their master would be lessened. Next day, in company with other foreign deputies, they were introduced into the senatehouse. Quintius made report of the conference which he had held with them; and the ambassadors, perceiving the strong effect produced by his discourse, especially among the Greek strangers present, intreated the senators not to proceed at once to extremities. "The peace of the world was the question; rather than be the means of disturbing it, Antiochus would submit to any reasonable compromise." In consequence of this declaration, the senate sent to him Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius, the same persons who, in the preceding year, had treated with him at Lysimachia².

Meanwhile, his generals carried on the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus, the former of which was the main bulwark of the Ionian commonwealth; and the latter, of those near the Hellespont. The king, in person, was employed in an expedition against the warlike Pisidians, of all nations in Lesser Asia the most reluctant to the Syrian yoke. He had exerted himself with boldness and ability to consolidate and extend the dominion of his ancestors; but, besides the too natural

Causes of
the war
with Anti-
ochus.
I. Eumen-
es, his
views.
Olymp.
calvi. 4.
B. C. 193.

² Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57, et seq.

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enmity between great neighbouring powers, separated from each other only by the precarious independence of Greece, three causes concurred to frustrate all amicable negotiation between him and the Romans. Eumenes II. of Pergamus saw that his own ruin was at hand, unless the great western republic were embroiled with the ambitious king of Syria. He therefore spared no pains to effectuate that purpose. On the supposition that the conflict were doubtful, he thought it better for him to provoke war, with the Romans on his side, than to fight, as it must soon become necessary, singlehanded, against so mighty a potentate. But he was confident that Rome would prevail in the contest, by which means he hoped not only to save his own kingdom, but to share the spoils of his great hereditary foe³.

II. Hanni-
bal, his pro-
ceedings
and plans
of ven-
geance.

While Eumenes thus counteracted pacification with the eagerness of fear and interest, Hannibal, actuated by the fiercer passions of hatred and revenge, endeavoured to infuse them, in their full force, into the soul of Antiochus. Shortly after the battle of Zama, this extraordinary man had been raised to the first magistracy of Carthage. Of this authority conferred on him by the multitude, he availed himself to reform the abuses, which, as mentioned on a former occasion, had crept into the administration of police, justice, and the finances; and which had grown inveterate through the combination of a few powerful families to compensate by rapacity their expenses incurred by bribery, and to traduce and punish as criminals all whom they had reason to fear as accusers. Until the election of Hannibal to the pretorship, all offices of power or profit had circulated among the members of this junto: they managed the treasury, exercised the function of state inquisitors; and tried all causes, either of private right, or public delinquency. Their dilapidations of the revenues, screened by the perversion of justice, rendered the imposition of new taxes necessary for discharging the

³ Conf Polyb. l. iii. c. 7. & c. 32. & l. xviii. c. 22.

annual tribute payable by treaty to Rome. Hannibal, in virtue of an ancient law, empowering the first magistrate, when his sentiments were at variance with those of inferior members of government, to appeal to the people at large, summoned a popular assembly; and with great benefit to the commonwealth, introduced a fair rotation in the judiciary power, and remedied the other grievances long felt and lamented. But, by these measures, he so much exasperated his adversaries, that they had recourse to the Romans, accusing him of a design to excite a new war, and of having entered, with this view, into a secret correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans, hostilely disposed towards the Syrian king, and in whom the bare name of Hannibal was sufficient to create alarm, consulted their passions rather than their dignity, and despatching ambassadors to Carthage, interposed with mischievous effect to Hannibal in the domestic dissensions of that state. The object of their persecution, to avoid the snares of his enemies, fled to Cercina, a small island on the coast of Byzantium, and embarked there in a vessel bound for Tyre. In this venerable metropolis of Carthage, Hannibal was received with the fond admiration of a parent for an illustrious and long absent son. From Tyre he sailed to Antioch, and was honourably entertained by Seleucus, son to Antiochus, then celebrating the annual games at Daphne. He remained not long in this soft retreat of voluptuous indolence, but hastened to join Antiochus, speedily expected on the coast of Ephesus, to deliberate concerning peace or war with the Romans. It is unnecessary to add, that the appearance of Hannibal in the council determined him to the bolder side of the alternative⁵.

The third circumstance which precipitated hostilities, also rendered Greece the immediate scene of conflict. Through their embassy bearing remonstrances to the senate⁶, the Etolians had obtained none of those advantages to which they pretended. Their wrongs were indignantly resented by their pretor Thoas, a man rash, arrogant, impetuous, yet uniting,

III. Intrigues of Thoas, the Etolian pretor.

⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 46. & seq.

⁶ See above.

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XX.

with boiling courage, the basest and most unprincipled artifice. Thoas had distinguished himself among his discontented countrymen, for virulent invectives against the Romans; and being now vested with authority in Etolia, laboured to communicate his own rancorous passions to the heads of neighbouring states. With this view, he despatched at once three embassies; to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, to Philip of Macedon, and to Antiochus. To Nabis he observed, that, as the Roman armies were withdrawn, a fair opportunity invited him to recover his jurisdiction over Argos and the maritime districts of Laconia. He admonished Philip, that it was now in his power to obtain what he had often in vain prayed for, the assistance of Antiochus against Rome: and to Antiochus, already stimulated to war by Hannibal, he declared, by a most daring lie, that he had made sure of Nabis and of Philip, and that both these princes, as well as the Etolians, were eager to cooperate strenuously against the common enemy¹.

Nabis de-
feats Philo-
pœmen at
sea.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

The first effect of these machinations appeared in the proceedings of Nabis, who, uneasy at being excluded from the sea, the source of his former profits, began to employ both force and fraud for regaining possession of his harbours. Into the principal of them, Gythium, the Achæans threw a garrison, thinking it their duty, after the departure of the Romans, to protect against the designs of Nabis the independence of the Laconian coast. The tyrant prepared to besiege the place; and, to intercept succours to it by sea, equipped three galleys with some armed boats and cutters, for he had been recently compelled, as we have seen, to surrender the whole of his piratical fleet. Shortly before the siege of Gythium, Philopœmen had been reelected to the pretorship of Achaia, an office which he had often discharged with equal ability and patriotism. Alarmed for the safety of his countrymen shut up in Gythium, he hastily put to sea, with a few small vessels, and only one ship of force, now old and

¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 12.

crazy. She was commanded by Tiso of Patræ, for Philopœmen, a landsman brought up in the heart of Arcadia, professed not any skill in maritime affairs. At the first shock with Nabis, Tiso's galley was disabled, and taken with her whole crew. This unlucky event at once decided the battle. The Achæans fled dispersedly: Philopœmen escaped to Patræ in an advice boat, declaring, it is said, that Nabis should not long enjoy his triumph⁸.

The tyrant's success, however, only redoubled his diligence. Part of his army was drawn from Gythium to the neighbourhood of Bœa, a harbour on the inmost recess of the Laconic gulph, from which central situation the Spartans might hasten seasonably, wherever danger threatened. Philopœmen was duly informed of this movement. He learned also, that for want of leathern tents, the detachment sent towards Bœa was lodged in huts composed chiefly of twigs and reeds. Upon this intelligence, he embarked his light infantry in small boats on an obscure creek of Argolis, and from thence creeping secretly along shore, landed behind a promontory near Bœa: there, he waited darkness to execute his designs. Through unfrequented paths he advanced to the enemy's station in the night: the reedy huts, thickly covered with leaves, were thrown into a conflagration: the Spartans were defeated by their own fears, before they felt the swords of their adversaries; only a miserable remnant escaped towards the larger camp at Gythium. The provoking intelligence brought to him, made Nabis prosecute the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. Philopœmen hastened northwards, and, until the Achæans should, according to orders, advance in full force to Tegea, contented himself with ravaging Laconia, particularly the district Tripolis, on the Arcadian frontier. Having joined his army, by this time assembled at Tegea, he purposed to lead it immediately against Sparta, as the best expedient either for saving Gythium, or compensating its loss. In returning southward, he

War of
stratagem
between
Nabis and
Philopœ-
men.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

⁸ Plutarch in Philopœm. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 26.

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made his first halt at Caryæ; and on the day of his arrival there, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of this event, he proceeded towards Sparta, his troops, on account of the narrow road, forming a train five miles long. In this condition he beheld an army in front, occupying a strong post called Pyrrhus' camp, well fitted to obstruct his progress; for Nabis, after securing possession of Gythium, had hastened to the defence of his ravaged territory and threatened capital. Under these circumstances Philopœmen, with a presence of mind the result of habitual reflection on all possible emergencies, seized a rocky eminence overhanging a small rivulet, from which, in their present situation, both armies must supply themselves with water. Night intervened to prevent an immediate battle. Philopœmen profited of the interval to post a select body of targeteers in a concealed hollow. Next morning, part of the enemy's light forces advanced, as had been foreseen, to dispute possession of the watering place. Philopœmen opposed them with the same description of troops, which engaging them in a desultory combat, drew them towards his ambush of targeteers, which surprised and almost entirely destroyed them. To avail himself of the apprehensions with which this disaster was likely to fill the tyrant, he sent a crafty and fearless Cretan, alike prepared to die or to deceive, who pretending to be a deserter, apprised Nabis, that the enemy purposed to intercept his return southward, by occupying the narrow defiles near the Eurotas, and that Philopœmen entertained hopes of stirring Sparta to rebellion. This intelligence made Nabis decamp; the Achæans so much harassed his retreat, that it became a disorderly flight: to gain more swiftness, the Lacedæmonians threw away their spears, which falling on their iron points, formed a sort of rampart across the road, and casually aided the escape of the routed army into the woods on either side for shelter. Nabis, with a few followers, reached Sparta; and Philopœmen doubted not but the other fugitives would also attempt to enter that city at the approach of darkness, after

skulking all day time in the woods. Accordingly he beset the roads leading to Sparta from Pharis and Barbosthenes. The Lacedæmonians thus fell into his hands, unarmed: scarcely a fourth part of them regained their capital. Philopœmen ravaged Laconia thirty days without seeing an enemy⁹.

Meanwhile the Romans, apprised of the commotions excited by Thoas in Greece, sent thither the pretor Atilius with twenty-four galleys; Quintius Flaminius also appeared at the head of a Roman commission, that the force of arms might be supported by the weight of authority. Having found the Achæans disposed to his wish, Quintius proceeded to Athens, to Chalcis, to various cities in Thessaly; he delayed to visit Etolia, but sent thither Athenian deputies, now most subservient slaves to the interests of Rome. Before this time, Thoas had been succeeded in the pretorship by Damocritus, a man, if possible, more insolent. Thoas himself had just returned from Antiochus, in company with the king's ambassador Menippus. This minister boasted to the Etolians his master's greatness; his Macedonian phalanx, his Persian cavalry; above all, his immense treasures, sufficient at once to enrich his Greek friends, and to buy his Roman enemies. Against such pleasing language, the Athenians employed their eloquence in vain. All that could be obtained through their intercession, and that of a few dispassionate men in the assembly, was, that the Roman commissioners, if they came to Naupactus, its place of meeting, should be admitted to an audience. Upon hearing of this resolution, Quintius with his colleagues proceeded thither from Corinth, but it was only to witness the complete triumph of their enemies. Without adjourning the meeting, or allowing the commissioners time to depart, Damocritus procured a decree for inviting Antiochus into Greece, that he might decide all matters in dispute between the Etolians and the Romans. When Quintius asked for some explanations of the decree, and a copy of it in writing, Damocritus fiercely

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XX.

Antiochus
invited into
Greece,
and Roman
commis-
sioners in-
sulted.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. et seq.

CHAP. answered, that the Etolians would fully explain themselves
 XX. on the banks of the Tiber¹⁰.

Demetrius
 taken by
 stratagem.

The commissioners returned to Corinth; and the Etolians, by means of their secret council, concerted measures well calculated to justify their haughtiness. They aimed at nothing less than making themselves masters at once of Demetrius, of Chalcis and of Sparta. The first of these enterprises was completely successful, and its success originated in a transaction which had happened at Demetrius when Quintius recently visited that stronghold of Thessaly. The Magnetes, its inhabitants, whom the Romans had liberated from the yoke of Macedon, were alarmed by a report that the same people, who had been the authors of their liberty, were desirous of reducing them once more under their former master. The report had been raised by the Romans themselves, who, on account of the war that threatened them from Antiochus, had every reason to court Philip. When Eurylochus, therefore, the pretor of the Magnetes, acknowledged that he had heard such a rumour with equal resentment and sorrow, Quintius did not enter into any explicit justification: he only recalled the benefits conferred through his means on the Greeks in general, and particularly on the Magnetes; he desired them to compare the state in which he found, with that in which he left them: before his arrival in Thessaly, they had not only a Macedonian garrison but a royal palace in their capital: to what purpose had he compelled Philip to quit his proud princely abode, if it was once more, by the consent of the Magnetes themselves, to be occupied by a new and more despotic monarch? Eurylochus replied with vivacity, that it seemed to him of little importance whether his countrymen obeyed Antiochus or the Romans, since at present all their proceedings depended on the arbitrary will of the latter. Quintius, at this remark, raised his hands in a transport of indignation, calling heaven to witness the ingratitude and perfidy of the Magnetes. Here Zeno, a man of

¹⁰ Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. et Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 32. et seq.

great power in Demetrias, and highly acceptable to the Romans, interposed, imploring the commissioners not to impute to the community at large the rashness and madness of an individual. That his countrymen owed every thing most dear to them, to Quintius, and the Roman people; and, he was sure, would rather plunge daggers into their own breasts, than violate their fidelity to such illustrious benefactors. His sentiments reechoed from all parts of the assembly, which testified such resentment against Eurylochus, that he secretly made his escape, and sought refuge among the Etolians¹¹.

This people, ever vigilant to profit by occurrences, founded on the flight of the chief magistrate of Demetrias their design for surprising that city. In consequence of applications from him by letters, his friends and relatives entered the assembly of their commonwealth in sordid habits, and with every badge of supplication, intreating the people at large, and many individuals in particular, to remit their anger against Eurylochus, and allow him to return from banishment. The people, in pity to a man who had recently borne such high authority among them, and who was now in exile, untried, unheard, and perhaps altogether innocent, readily gave ear to the suppliants; while the party adverse to the measures of the present magistracy, abetted their importunity with the eagerness of interest. It was determined by general consent to recal Eurylochus. During his residence in Etolia, he had been the guest of Diocles, now master of horse, the second dignity in that commonwealth. Diocles, to accompany him home, had all his cavalry in readiness, at the head of which he advanced uninterruptedly, day and night, within six miles of Demetrias. He then halted, and selecting three troops the fittest for his purpose, proceeded with them towards the city, causing them to dismount as they approached the gates, and lead their horses, that they might appear rather a friendly train at-

¹¹ Id. c. 31.

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tending Eurylochus by way of honour, than a regular military escort. One of these troops halted to secure the gate; Diocles advanced to the forum, holding his friend Eurylochus by the hand, while persons of every description came forth to welcome his return from banishment. Meanwhile the great mass of cavalry entered, and took possession of the city; one division of the Etolians ran to occupy the commanding posts, another flew to destroy the magistrates, and all suspected of adhering to the Roman party¹².

More audacious enterprise against Sparta. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C 192.

The enterprise against Sparta, or rather its tyrant Nabis, was attended with circumstances far more memorable. The tyrant had pressed the Etolians for aid in his war with Achaia, in which, through their means chiefly, he had been involved. Philopœmen had shut him up within his capital, and ravaged his territories for a whole month with impunity. On pretence of enabling him once more to take the field, the Etolians sent to him Alexamenus, a youth distinguished for precipitate boldness even in Etolia, with a thousand infantry and thirty chosen horsemen. This detachment had orders in private from the secret council, not to think itself destined merely for the Achæan war, but to be ready for any exploit enjoined by Alexamenus, however rash, precipitate, and daring it might at first sight appear. Alexamenus, with men thus instructed, came in the most friendly manner to Nabis, and apologized to him for the paucity of his numbers, by saying, that as Antiochus, who had already passed into Europe, was shortly expected in Etolia, his countrymen wished to show themselves to the best advantage and in the utmost force to this great and generous ally. That the Romans, those restless and rapacious barbarians, would no longer have to do with the weakness of Macedon and the disunion of Greece, but with a mighty monarch, whose infantry and cavalry were innumerable, whose fleets covered the sea, whose armed elephants and chariots of war were of all things the most terrible. In concert with this powerful

¹² Ibid. c. 34.

confederate, the Etolians would be soon ready to protect Nabis against all his enemies; but that, meanwhile, he ought not to keep his men cooped up within their walls, but anticipating future triumphs, lead them forth to daily exercise on the banks of the Eurotas. Agreeably to this advice, Nabis drew his Lacedæmonians and mercenaries from the city, and made them perform their evolutions in company with their Etolian auxiliaries. When this practice had been so often repeated as to dispel every shadow of distrust, Alexamenus, having suddenly communicated the design to his countrymen, by one stroke dismounted the tyrant at the head of his guards; and Nabis, though strongly covered with mail, was speedily despatched by the Etolian horsemen¹³. This deed of matchless audacity abashed both Spartans and strangers; for the extent of the conspiracy being unknown, all trembled at a man who had prostrated in the dust the recent object of their terrors.

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XX.

A handful
of Etolians
assassinate
Nabis at
the head of
his guards.

But Alexamenus, and his Etolians, though well qualified for executing such an enterprise, were men ill adapted for deriving from it any permanent advantage. Instead of summoning an assembly, confirming the Lacedæmonians in liberty, and inviting them to join in the Etolian league, Alexamenus wasted many irrecoverable hours in ransacking the tyrant's palace; and his rapacious Etolians behaved as in a city taken by storm. The Lacedæmonians were thus recalled to a sense of their own strength and the enemy's weakness; they attacked and overwhelmed the handful of plunderers, before Philopœmen, who had marched towards Sparta on the first news of the tyrant's death, came to avail himself of the distracted state of that city. About the same time that Philopœmen arrived there, it was discovered that the pretor Atilius had landed at Gythium with twenty-four Roman galleys. This circumstance highly favoured Philopœmen's welcome reception at Sparta, and facilitated his measures for regulating the Lacedæmonian affairs agreeably to the views of his

Philopœmen's seasonable arrival—he unites Lacedæmon to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

¹³ Ibid. c. 35.

CHAP.
XX.

The Etolians fail in their attempt on Chalcis.

Opposite counsels given by Thoas and Hannibal to Antiochus.

country. He called an assembly of the people, made to them such a speech as Alexamenus lost the opportunity of delivering on a still fitter occasion, congratulated them on being rescued from a cruel tyranny, and united them by their general consent as free coordinate members in the Achæan league ¹⁴.

A third expedition of the Etolians, carried on at the same time with their successful enterprise against Demetrius, and their abortive attempt on Sparta, was directed against Chalcis in Eubœa, and committed to the conduct of Thoas, recently their ambassador with the king of Syria. For surprising the Eubœan capital, Thoas had provided a detachment of two thousand infantry and two hundred horse, and trusted for success chiefly to the intrigues of Heradorus, a merchant of Cius, at the eastern extremity of the Propontis, whose unrivalled opulence gave him a powerful sway over the councils of Chalcis. The design, however, was defeated through the spirit of the Chalcians, assisted by their near neighbours the Eretrians and Carystians ¹⁵; and Thoas having learned the taking of Demetrius, an object of still greater moment, was in haste to return to Ephesus, and to encourage Antiochus by such an auspicious event to sail immediately for Greece.

The counsels of this rash Etolian had the greater weight with the king, his own ministers being shamefully ignorant of the affairs of Europe, and Hannibal, through his boldness and abilities, having exposed himself to the loss of royal favour. Besides the intrigues of courtiers, always eager to depreciate the firmer virtues as qualities no wise appertaining to them, Hannibal is said to have incurred suspicion by his frequent interviews with Villius, one of the Roman ambassadors ¹⁶. The Roman is thought, with such an intent, to have artfully solicited these conferences; but whatever may be in this conjecture, for it is not likely that Hannibal should

¹⁴ Plutarch in Philopœmen, Tit. Liv. xxxv. c. 36.

¹⁵ Ibid. c. 37, 38.

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. xxxv. c. 19.

have been overreached by so gross a stratagem, Antiochus, in his subsequent measures, certainly preferred the advice of the Etolian to that of the Carthaginian. Hannibal had proposed a plan of war bold and great like his own genius. While the king's land forces were assembling from remote countries of the East, he was to avail himself of the superiority of his fleet; to send one part to take possession of Byllis, a district in Illyricum, looking to, and, as it were, threatening Italy; at the same time to alarm the coasts of that peninsula opposite to Sardinia and Africa: above all, to employ an hundred transports to convey ten thousand foot and one thousand horse into Italy; in which last service Hannibal, from sixteen years' experience in such warfare, presumed to offer himself for the commander¹⁷.

The opinion of Thoas was directly the reverse. By exaggerating the numbers and resources of the Etolians and their allies, he encouraged Antiochus, though it was winter, immediately to invade Greece; and as that country, from which they originally sprang, and the scene of their perpetual conflicts with each other, had an artificial magnitude, far exceeding its real importance, in the fancies of all Alexander's successors, the proposal for carrying his arms into Greece was most acceptable to Antiochus. He therefore left the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus to be prosecuted by his lieutenants, and sailed to the Pelasgic gulph with an hundred galleys, containing ten thousand infantry, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The king landed near the entrance of the gulph: Eurylochus, pretor of the Magnetes, came from Demetrias to meet him; and the Syrian fleet had orders to sail round into the harbour of that city. The Etolians, who had advanced to Lamia in Thessaly, no sooner heard of his arrival, than they passed a decree for receiving him with every mark of cordiality and honour. Antiochus, being apprised of this decree, proceeded from Demetrias to Phalera on the

CHAP.
XX.
That prince sails to Greece —his demands from the allies. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

¹⁷ Id. l. xxxvi. c. 7.

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Malian gulph, and thence onward to Lamia. In this place the vast crowds, that welcomed him with noisy acclamations, rendered it difficult for Thoas, and Phœnias now pretor of the Etolians, to procure for him undisturbed admission into their council. Antiochus testified no uneasiness at the tumultuary uproar occasioned only by excess of affection; and when silence had been obtained, addressed the Etolians in a speech filled with excuses, with promises, and with demands. He apologized for coming among them with so inconsiderable an armament by the season of the year, and his eagerness to obey their invitation. But, for this defect, he would make ample amends when his preparations were brought to maturity: his fleets would then cover the seas, and Greece would be filled, not only with armies, but with all kinds of supplies; determined, as he was, to spare neither expense nor labour, nor danger to render the Greeks really a free people, and the Etolians the first nation among them. In the meantime, it belonged to his allies to furnish him with corn in abundance, and to take measures for providing him with other essential accommodations at a reasonable rate ¹⁸."

His fruit-
less expe-
dition
against
Chalcis.

The king's speech was received with unbounded applause; he was saluted general of the Etolians; and thirty of their principal men were assigned him for his military council. The multitude then returned to their respective cities: Next day, Antiochus deliberated with his council in what quarter he should commence the war. It was resolved to try the fidelity of Chalcis in Eubœa, against which the Etolians had recently failed; but which, it was hoped, would open its gates to so great a king. But, as in this presumption, Antiochus crossed the Euripus with a small fleet and a still smaller army, the Chalcians rejected his proposal, observing, that they were untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent: that, to the best of their knowledge, all other cities of Greece had been left in the same enviable condition by the Romans, without whose

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. lxxxv. c. 44.

express consent, they thought themselves bound in gratitude not to contract any new alliance ¹⁹. CHAP.
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Upon this answer, the king, rather than commence his great undertakings by a tedious siege, returned to Demetrias, and from thence despatched embassies to Athens, Thebes, and most of the northern states. The Bœotians, smarting under the punishments inflicted on their outrages, and impoverished by their extreme profligacy, showed a willingness to abet every scheme of innovation: even the Athenians, hitherto distinguished by zeal in the cause of Rome, were thrown into discord, by needy and noisy men, who hoped to share the largesses of Antiochus. The ambassadors of that prince next appeared in the Achæan council at Ægium. They were accompanied by some leading men among the Etolians. Quintius also came to the council to counteract their machinations. The king's ambassador had the first hearing. Not contenting himself with the boasts hitherto made generally, concerning his master's greatness and resources, he expatiated with parading verbosity on the distinctive excellencies of his naval squadrons and military brigades, prolizly descanting on the Tyrians, Sidonians, Aradians, and Pamphylians; the Dahæ, Carduchians, Elymeans, and Medes. He exhorted the Achæans not to reject the friendship, now tendered them, of so powerful a monarch; which they might accept without infringing any prior treaty, since, all required of them was, that, in case of war, they should agree to the observance of a strict neutrality. The Etolians spoke to the same purpose; but, before concluding their discourse, indulged in their usual intemperance of invective against the Romans, arraigning their ingratitude and perfidy to allies, whose bravery, not their own, had procured them all their success on that side the Hadriatic. Quintius said in reply, "the speech of the Etolians is calculated not for the Achæans, who know its extravagance, but for the king's ambassadors whom they

His negotiations successful with the Athenians and Bœotians, baffled at Ægium by Quintius.

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 46

CHAP. hope to deceive. By this commerce of falsehood, the treaty
 XX. has been cemented between them, while the Etolians magnified their prowess, and Antiochus as vainly exaggerated his own resources. The enumeration, indeed, of warlike nations now made by his minister, reminds me of a facetious host with whom I once lived at Chalcis. His guests admired the variety of game that abounded at his table in the midst of summer. But he removed their wonder, by telling them, with an arch smile, that his cook was his only huntsman; *his* art alone had created all the profusion of delicacies before them, from the flesh merely of domestic swine. Such are the various names, now so pompously detailed, all of them summed up in the vile and contemptible *Syrians*, fitter for slaves than soldiers²⁰." Quintius found no difficulty in confirming the fidelity of the Achæans. At his desire they sent five hundred men to Athens, and as many to Chalcis. Eumenes also sent a small body of Pergamenians to the latter city. These succours arrived before Antiochus, who had deferred, but not relinquished, his design against the place, thought proper to cross the Euripus and invade the Chalcian territory²¹.

Antiochus
 conquers
 Eubœa.
 Olymp.
 cxlvii. 1.
 B. C. 192.

He had now made the proper dispositions for this undertaking, having beset, with his fleet and army, all the nearest crossing places, from Bœotia to Eubœa. It happened at the same time that five hundred Romans, belonging to two legions which the pretor Bæbius had transported to Illyricum in consequence of the commotions in Greece, sailed round, at the request of the Chalcians, to reinforce their garrison. These Romans, finding the ordinary passage from Aulis to Chalcis already occupied, proceeded southward to Delium, a seaport taking its name from a famous temple of Apollo, and about four miles distant from the opposite coast of Eubœa. As war had not yet been declared, nor a drop of blood shed on either side, many of the Romans amused their curiosity by viewing the grove and temple, while others strolled idly about the shore unarmed. In this

²⁰ Plutarch in Flamin. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 49.

²¹ Ibid. c. 50.

scattered condition, they were suddenly attacked by Antiochus' troops: several of them were slain, and about fifty made prisoners: the few, who escaped, threw themselves into a castle on the Euripus. Antiochus, meanwhile reinforced by the Etolians, advanced with his whole armament against Chalcis; and as his dreadful menaces were justified by the superiority of his strength, the troops belonging to Eumenes and the Achæans thought proper to capitulate. Chalcis then opened its gates: the castle, occupied by a handful of Romans, surrendered; and the conquest of the Eubœan capital soon put the king in possession of the whole island²².

Meanwhile the attention of all orders at Rome had been engrossed by accounts received concerning the vast projects of Antiochus. From the last reports of their ambassadors, war with that prince appeared inevitable; and hostilities, as they understood, were likely to be carried on, not only in Greece, but in Sicily and Italy itself. Sulpicius and Villius, the first generals who had been employed against Philip, long continued in Lesser Asia negotiating with the king of Syria and his ministers: and their departure took place only in consequence of declarations from the latter, which might be considered as decisive. The king's younger son, Seleucus, was employed, as we have already seen, at Lysimachia in Thrace: the elder, of the same name with his father, had been left at Antioch intrusted with the government of Syria. Antiochus himself in Lesser Asia was prepared to give a final hearing to Sulpicius and Villius, when news arrived of the sudden death of his viceroy in Syria, and the heir to his throne; a young prince of many virtues²³, whom all men regarded as likely to sustain the character of a just and great king. Not only the court but the country was

Negotiations in Asia immediately preceding Antiochus' voyage into Greece.

²² Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 51.

²³ Livy mentions the report, that young Antiochus had been poisoned by eunuchs, in consequence of orders from a father jealous of his virtues: but the ground of the suspi-

cion is contemptible in the extreme.

"Antiochus had given Lysimachia to his younger son Seleucus, but had no other such place to which his jealousy could remove the elder," l. xxxv. c. 15.

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filled with lamentations: the king shut himself up in his palace at Ephesus, and abstained for several days from all public business. During his mourning, Minio, the principal of his friends, held a conference in his name with the Roman ambassadors. He told them, that their professions about the liberty of Greek cities were specious indeed and honourable, but completely belied by facts. That they made one rule for themselves, and had the presumption to prescribe to others a rule altogether different: For, in what respect was Smyrna or Lampsacus, of which they required the sieges to be raised, better entitled to freedom, than Naples, Rhegium, Tarentum, Greek cities in Italy; than Syracuse and other Greek cities in Sicily, all of which were degraded to the state of tributary subjects? That the law of conquest was not more valid on the side of Rome, than on that of Antiochus, whose ancestors, having subdued the Ionian and Eolian Greeks, had transmitted to him a just right to chastise their rebellion, and reunite them to his empire. Sulpicius replied, "that since the cause of Antiochus could not be supported by better arguments, the king, in withholding his person from the conference, had well consulted his dignity. What resemblance is there in the circumstances of Magna Græcia, which, from the period of its submission to the Romans has been governed by one uniform, uninterrupted, undisputed tenor of jurisdiction, and the unceasing fluctuations of the Ionian and Eolian cities, some of which have been reduced by the kings of Macedon, others by those of Egypt, while several, through a length of ages, have asserted complete independence? If, because the ancestors of Antiochus once held them in reluctant subjection, when they were obliged to submit to the miserable condition of the times, that prince thus acquired a right, after the lapse of centuries, again to claim their allegiance, what should hinder some future king of Macedon from usurping Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, and thereby rendering useless all that the Romans have effected in Greece with so great glory? But it is unnecessary for me to plead the cause of the Asiatic cities,

since their own ambassadors are here present to speak for themselves." The ambassadors being called and heard, their intemperate language only widened the breach. Soon afterwards, Sulpicius and his colleague brought home an account of their fruitless negotiation²⁴.

In consequence of their report, the Romans began to prepare for war with more than ordinary vigour. To defend Italy, a great army of observation was stationed at Tarentum: the districts suspected of disaffection were occupied by proper garrisons: two numerous squadrons guarded respectively the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and the regular military force in the island was strengthened by a powerful body of militia²⁵. The consul Cornelius, also, issued an edict, that no magistrate, no senator, nor any of those dignified persons entitled to give their advice in the senate²⁶, should travel above a day's journey from Rome; and that more than four senators should not absent themselves from the city at once. Having taken these precautions for defence, they next provided the means of aggression. An army was ordered to assemble before the middle of March at Brundisium, to be transported, when necessary, to Illyricum. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants; and was commanded by the consul Acilius Glabrio. For securing necessary supplies to the forces at home and abroad, the usual tithes of corn were ordered from Sardinia, and double tithes from Sicily: commissaries were likewise sent to purchase that article from Carthage, and from Masinissa king of Numidia. On this occasion a contest of generosity happened between the Romans and these African allies, who, both of them, offered gratuitously a greater supply than had been demanded; while the Romans refused to receive any thing more than they

Multifarious preparations of the Romans for the war with Antiochus. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv.

²⁵ Tumultuarii milites.

²⁶ All who had borne curule magistracies had a right to be enrolled in the senate the year immediately following that in which they had

held their respective offices. But, previously to this enrolment, they were entitled to enter the senate-house, and to deliver their sentiments in debate. A. Gell. l. iii. c. 18.

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had at first required, and would agree to take even this quantity, only on condition of paying for it a fair price. An altercation of the same amicable nature took place with the ambassadors of Philip and of Ptolemy Epiphanes. These princes offered assistance against Antiochus, in men, money, and provisions. The Romans voted them thanks, but refused their presents: Ptolemy was kindly excused from interposing at all in the quarrel; but Philip had intimation that his services would be highly acceptable in cooperating with the consul Acilius: in this manner the Romans prepared for one of the most important wars which they ever waged, but which a combination of fortunate circumstances rendered one of the least obstinate²⁷.

How the
king of
Athamania
was gained
to Antio-
chus.

After the conquest of Eubœa, Antiochus employed part of the winter in frivolous negotiations with petty states, always ready to side with the present and prevailing power. He thus procured an alliance with the Elians, Bœotians, with some cities of Thessaly, and with the contiguous district of Athamania. Amynander, king of the Athamanians, had, as we have before seen, zealously assisted the Romans in their war against Philip. But, since the conclusion of that war, he had married Apamea, daughter to a certain Alexander of Megalopolis, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great. Besides his fair daughter Apamea, the citizen of Megalopolis had two sons, to whom, conformably to his high pretensions, he gave the royal names of Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder, followed his sister to Athamania, and, through her means, gained a powerful ascendancy over the mind of her husband. To this Philip, Antiochus and the Eto- lians addressed themselves, promising him the kingdom of Macedon, provided he could engage his brother-in-law Amynander in their interest. Philip fulfilled his part of the agreement, and thereby ruined himself, and subjected Amynander to a temporary loss of his kingdom²⁸.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 1. et seq.

²⁸ Id. ibid.

Assisted by such allies, Antiochus proceeded to lay siege to several cities of Thessaly, and gained Pheræ, Pellinæum, Cronon, and Scotussa; near the last of which, Philip of Macedon had lost the decisive battle of Kynocephalæ. This circumstance afforded Antiochus an opportunity of showing how little he was guided by the able counsels of Hannibal. That great general had spared no pains to destroy the suspicions of his fidelity, and to regain his former credit. The vile calumnies concerning his supposed conspiracy with the Romans were done away before Antiochus, by the following recital, equally simple and impressive: "My father Hamilcar, at his departure from Carthage for Spain, performed a sacrifice to Jupiter. I was present at the ceremony, then a child in my ninth year. Hamilcar asked me whether I would accompany him to the Spanish war. I assented with the utmost alacrity. He promised to take me provided, on the present occasion, I showed my ready compliance with his will. Then desiring all present to withdraw, he led me to the altar, on which he had just sacrificed; and, bidding me approach and touch it with my hand, commanded me to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. I swore the solemn oath, and my subsequent life of thirty-six years has been an unvaried act of performance. In the war with Rome, you may therefore safely trust Hannibal: but should you ever think of peace with that state, it will be time to have recourse to other advisers²⁹." In consequence of this interview, which had reconciled him with Antiochus, Hannibal was called to a military council in Thessaly. He declared his opinion against all the measures which had hitherto been pursued, and once more proposed the extensive, yet solid plan of war, which he had originally recommended. But as Antiochus, contrary to his advice, had come into Greece with very inadequate preparations, he exhorted him by all means to court the friendship of Macedon, a kingdom of real importance, rather than waste time in gaining petty states, always ready to change sides

CHAP.
XX.Antiochus
provokes
Philip, in
opposition
to the ad-
vice of
Hannibal.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

²⁹ Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 11. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibal & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 19.

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upon the slightest reverse of fortune. Instead of following this sound advice, and of endeavouring to procure the assistance of king Philip, Antiochus listened to Philip the Megalopolitan; and was persuaded by him to adopt a measure that rendered the king of Macedon his bitterest enemy. We have seen how this prince had left unburied the Macedonians slain at Kynocéphalæ. Philip the Megalopolitan was allowed the assistance of two thousand men to collect their bones, and to honour them with the rites of funeral. This office, performed at the request of a man who laid claim to the crown of Macedon, could appear in no other light to the wearer of that crown, than as an excitement of his subjects to rebellion, by contrasting the piety of the rightful king, with the impiety of the king in possession. When apprised of a proceeding thus personally hostile in Antiochus, Philip immediately despatched ambassadors to the pretor Bæbius, saying, that Thessaly had been invaded; and, should the pretor think fit to move from his winter quarters, that he would hasten to meet him, in order to concert what measures should be pursued on such an emergency. In consequence of their deliberation, Appius Claudius immediately marched with a powerful detachment through Macedon, and occupied the hills above Gonni, fifteen miles distant from Larissa. Antiochus was employed in besieging the latter place; but suddenly raised the siege, when he heard of a vast encampment, and saw widely extended fires, (for Appius thus heightened his alarm,) blazing near Gonni, as if they would have consumed the whole contiguous vale of Tempe. Upon leaving Larissa, the Syrians retreated forty miles eastward to Demetrias, not doubting that the whole Roman army; reinforced by the Macedonians, had advanced into Thessaly, in order to give them battle³⁰.

Antiochus'
changed
mode of

Without tarrying at Demetrias, the king sailed to Chalcis; and in this, the principal and most secure of his conquests, com-

³⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

menced a course of life little compatible with those pursuits of war and ambition, which had hitherto wholly occupied him. CHAP.
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The fair daughter of Cleoptolemus, his host at Chalcis, occasioned this alteration. Unmindful of his queen Laodice, life.—Its
bad effects
on his
affairs.

who had given to him five sons and four daughters, a woman of a noble mind and daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus, Antiochus, in advanced life, and deformed in his face by a wound received in combating the Bactrians, sighed for degrading nuptials with this Chalcian beauty: and when he had overcome her own and her father's reluctance, (for both preferred the safe middle state to royalty with danger), he gave way to such rejoicings and carousals, or indulged in such voluptuous indolence, as totally unnerved his own mind, and destroyed all regular discipline, not only among the troops who had followed him to Chalcis, but among those left in garrison on the opposite continent³¹. Accordingly, though he resumed arms in the spring, his operations were confined to the low purpose of gaining by bribery some inconsiderable places in Acarnania. While he was thus employed on the western side of Greece, Philip and Bæbius began their operations in Thessaly. Pellinæum, a city on the Peneus, was garrisoned by a large body of Athamanians and Syrians, in- Capture of
Pellinæum trusted by Antiochus to Philip the Megalopolitan. The allies summoned him to surrender: he answered, in terms of defiance against the Romans, and of reproach against the usurper of his throne. Shortly afterwards, the consul Acilius arrived in the Ambracian gulph: Antiochus retired at his approach, relinquishing his recent acquisitions in Acarnania. The consul then proceeded into Thessaly, his forces amounting, as above stated, to 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 15 elephants. Threatened by such an army, Pellinæum surrendered. The Athamanians and Syrians were left by the consul to the sole disposal of the king of Macedon. The Athamanians he treated kindly, and sent back, unransomed, to their country. The captured troops of Antiochus experienced

³¹ Conf. Polybius, l. xx. c. 18. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 11.

CHAP. the ordinary fate of war, and patiently submitted to slavery.
XX.

The Atha-
manians
submit
to Philip.

Philip the Megalopolitan, who had recently commanded both, passed through the gate of Pellinæum unarmed; and was met in this humble plight by Philip of Macedon. The king treated this vain man in a manner more disgraceful to himself, than to his unfortunate prisoner; calling him ironically his brother, and causing him to be mocked with royal honours. He was then sent to the consul, by him consigned to rigorous confinement, and finally transported to Rome in irons. Having thus trampled on a rival, Philip hastened to punish an enemy. From Pellinæum, he marched into Athamania, the inhabitants of which district, moved by his clemency to their countrymen, received him as their master; while Amynder, divested of his little valley, unfitly dignified with the name of kingdom, and dreading alike Philip, whom he had long obstinately opposed, and the Romans, whom he had recently deserted, fled with his wife and children to Ambracia in Epirus³², now forming a republic apart, in which, as will appear hereafter, this dispossessed king of Athamania had much interest.

Prepara-
tions for
the battle
of Ther-
mopylæ.

Meanwhile, Acilius pursued his conquests in Thessaly to the shore of the Malian gulph, where Antiochus, who had hitherto fled before him, determined to make a stand. Some reinforcements had been received from Asia. The Etolians had sent a body of 4,000 men. But these selfish allies refused to join forces with the Syrians, who occupied the straits of Thermopylæ; and threw themselves into the city Herackæa, near the northern entrance of that famous pass. In case of victory on the side of Antiochus, they would be conveniently situate at Herackæa for pursuing and plundering the Roman fugitives, and, in case Antiochus were defeated, they would be ready themselves to fly, unobstructed, to the strong-holds of their own country. Without their capricious aid, Antiochus resolved to maintain the straits with about 10,000 infantry and 500 horse. He had been miserably disappointed.

³² Id. Ibid.

not only as to the powerful and zealous cooperation of the Etolians, but as to the celerity with which his eastern forces might be assembled in the maritime provinces, and from thence transported into Greece. But he thought it disgraceful to leave that country without a battle; and, therefore, while Polyxenidas, his admiral, had orders to accelerate the embarkations from Asia, he fortified himself with much art and industry, strengthening, where necessary, the rocky labyrinth in which he had taken post, with trenches, palisades, and even stone walls. On the side of Heraclæa, where the Romans prepared to make their attack, the entrance was guarded by a firm division of the phalanx: a squadron of stout galleys defended the Malian gulph; and numerous victuallers from Lesser Asia rendered provisions plenty in the camp.

One circumstance, chiefly, disquieted Antiochus. He was not ignorant that the Persians under Xerxes, and the Gauls under Brennus, had poured down on the Greeks at Thermopylæ. He therefore requested the Etolians that they would occupy and defend the narrow passes across the mountain, only three in number, Rhoduntia, Tichius, and Callidromus. Nearly 2000 Etolians were prevailed on to undertake this indispensable service; the greater part remained obstinately at Heraclæa. Meanwhile, the consul proceeded southward from the Sperchius to storm the enemy's camp. He had animated his men with alacrity for this hard duty; but their ardour cooled on beholding the entrance to the straits bristling with Macedonian spears. They marched reluctantly to the assault, and were more than once repelled. Strong detachments, however, had been sent to descend by the sides of the defile, and to cooperate in flank, with the attack in front. One of these detachments was commanded by Cato, who, four years before this period, had signalized his military skill as consul in Spain, and who, seven years afterwards, gained more appropriate glory at Rome by the integrity and dignity of

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his censorship³³. He was now in his 43d year, in the highest vigour of mind and body. Flaccus, his coadjutor on the present occasion, failed in the attempt to dislodge the Etolians from Tichius, but Cato prevailed at Callidromus, from which he rushed with resistless impetuosity on the enemy. This movement converted the battle into a mere rout; Antiochus fled towards the southern³⁴ issue of the defile, and escaped with a handful of men to Elatia, and thence to Chalcis; his army was cut in pieces; his squadron in the Malian gulph dispersed itself towards those harbours in the neighbourhood, at which it seemed most likely that the king might arrive. The galleys, that sailed for Chalcis, escorted him safely to Ephesus; while Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, captured a large convoy of victuallers bound for the ruined camp of Thermopylæ³⁵.

The Etolians persist in hostility.

The flight of Antiochus afforded the Romans an opportunity for exercising clemency towards his allies. Neither the Bœotians, nor Phocians, nor any other people abetting his cause, were punished for their defection. A pacific message was sent even to the Etolians: but they fiercely persisted in hostility, and defended their post at Heraclea twenty-four days. It was taken after repeated assaults, and in it the arrogant Damocritus, who, as mentioned above, had insulted the Roman commissioners, and boasted that he would answer their demands of justice on the banks of the Tiber³⁶.

Quintius saves their capital, and prevails on them to send ambassadors to Rome. Olymp. exlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

While the affairs of the Romans advanced on a prosperous tide of fortune, their ally Philip lay sick in the neighbourhood of Lamia. Upon his recovery, he immediately undertook the siege of that place, and was the more strenuous in his operations against it, because, when the consul should overcome the obstinacy of Heraclæa, he feared that the conqueror of Antiochus would require Lamia also to be surrendered to him. His conjecture was well founded: for

³³ Conf. Plutarch in Cato. Major. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 8. & seq. l. xxxix. c. 42. & seq.

p. 81.

³⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 15—21.

³⁶ Id. Ibid. c. 24.

³⁴ At Alpenus, see above, vol. ii.

his intrigues in the place having failed, and his works being retarded by the necessity of mining through a hard rock, Acilius desired him to raise the siege; and Lamia, on the first summons, opened its gates to the Romans. The clemency shown by these conquerors to the vanquished began to change the stubborn purposes of the Etolians. In a council held at their frontier city Hypata on the Sperchius, within twenty miles of Heraclea, their deputies consented to submit themselves to the good faith of Rome; but, being taught the full import of this expression, flew into the utmost rage, and returning to Naupactus encouraged their countrymen rather wholly to perish, than to acknowledge a master³⁷. Accordingly, when Acilius assailed Naupactus, the desperate valour of the Etolians baffled all his efforts, and while he persevered fruitlessly in the siege, Philip enjoyed a fair field for conquest, and made himself master, with other neighbouring cities, of the important stronghold of Demetrias. The place capitulated, on condition that the garrison belonging to Antiochus should be allowed a free passage to Lysimachia in Thrace. Eurylochus, through whose means, as we have seen, Demetrias had fallen into the hands of that prince, refused to become a party to the treaty: a voluntary death saved him from the disgrace of submitting to Philip whom he had injured, in presence of his fellow citizens whom he had betrayed³⁸. In this state of affairs, while Philip was continually making new conquests, and the consul uselessly besieged Naupactus, Quintius Flamininus, who still remained at the head of the Roman commission in Greece, thought it his duty to interpose. He had just settled a difference between the Achæans and Messenians, and united the latter people to the Achæan league. With equal address he had prevailed on the Achæans to cede the island Zacynthus to Rome, telling them, among other arguments, that Achaia, like a tortoise, must confine itself for safety within its shell of Peloponnesus³⁹. From Ægium, in Achaia, he crossed over the Corinthian gulph to the Roman camp before Nau-

³⁷ Polybius, l. xx. c. 9. & seq.³⁹ Plutarch in Flamin³⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 22.

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pactus. Having appeared at the foot of the walls, he was recognised by the besieged, who, though of all nations in Greece the most adverse to his public views, yet retained much personal regard for a man whose valour was coupled with humanity, and whose harshest proceedings were seasoned with pleasantry. The Etolians called to him from their walls to intercede in their behalf, and save a whole people from destruction. He made a sign to them, that the consul only could help them; then repairing to this commander, said, I am doubtful, Acilius, whether you are unacquainted with the transactions now passing in Greece, or knowing, disregard them. After repelling Antiochus, you have been wasting the time of your consulship, just ready to expire, first in assaulting Heraclea, and now in besieging Naupactus, while Philip has been reaping all the best fruits of your victory over the king of Syria, in which he had no share. Yet the interest of Rome is less concerned in taking Naupactus, than in curbing the ambition of Philip, who has acquired Perrhæbia, Aperantia, and Athamania; and subdued more nations in Greece than the Romans have gained cities. The consul, with some reluctance, yielded to the authority of Quintius, and committed the Etolians to his management. In a conference with their magistrates, he prevailed on them to send ambassadors to Rome, and to trust to the clemency of the senate⁴⁰. The legions then retired into winter quarters in Phocis. Quintius, accompanied by the consul, returned from Naupactus to Ægium, where their attention was occupied in hearing embassies from the Epirots and from Philip, and in adjusting petty quarrels in Peloponnesus, which, as they revived with greater heat hereafter, will then be more fitly explained.

Antiochus' measures for defence. Olymp. cxxvii. 2. B. C. 191.

When Antiochus returned to Ephesus, Hannibal, his only counsellor, who had either sagacity to foresee future events, or boldness to announce them, assured the trembling monarch that he would be soon called to fight the Romans in Asia and for Asia⁴¹. In spite of the perfidious flattery of his

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 34, & seq.

⁴¹ Ibid. c. 41.

Greek courtiers, who would have lulled him to a fatal security, the bold remonstrances of the Carthaginian awakened his sense of danger, and made him prepare for defence by arms and alliances. With such vessels as were ready at Ephesus, he sailed to the Chersonesus of Thrace, and reinforced his garrisons there: Polyxenidas had orders to equip the remainder of the fleet with all possible expedition; numerous ships of observation and advice boats were diffused over the coasts of Greece and the islands; so that whether the Romans approached on the side of Thrace, or transported their armies across the Ægean sea, he might be apprised of their movements, and enabled to oppose them efficaciously and quickly. In Lesser Asia, his rich central provinces of Lydia and Phrygia would furnish convenient quarters for the great reinforcements which were assembling from the East; and though Lampsacus and Smyrna still refused to open their gates, all the neighbouring seaports were conquered, and even those obstinate cities were sinking under the hardships of a rigorous blockade.

With regard to allies, his prospects were not unfavourable. His allies. Six independent powers, indeed, had arisen in the peninsula of Asia, at the expense of the Syrian monarchy; and the most considerable of these powers, namely Pergamus and the Rhodians, were unalterably hostile to Antiochus. But this prince had espoused the sister of Pharnaces I. of Pontus; he had given his daughter in marriage to Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia; he had entered into treaty with the Gauls, or Galatians, who, though fallen from their ancient predominancy, were still a warlike people; and he had reason to hope, that he should gain Prusias I. of Bithynia, a prince of considerable vigour, who had carried on wars against the Greek cities on the Euxine, and is called Prusias the Lamé, from a wound which he received by the fall of a scaling ladder in the siege of Heraclea⁴¹.

⁴¹ Memnon apud Phot. p. 727. Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9.
Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. &

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The Ro-
man fleet
sails to
Delos.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

Meanwhile, the Romans had been diligent in assembling the maritime strength of Magna Græcia and Sicily. It was intrusted to the pretor Livius, who, while his countrymen still besieged Naupactus, crossed over from Brundisium to Corcyra, and thence sailing to the Peloponnesus, doubled the promontory of Malea, and made for the Piræus. In this harbour Atilius, whom Livius superseded in command, resigned to him in good condition twenty-five decked ships. A small squadron sent by the Carthaginians had joined him on the coast of Italy, and another under Eumenes of Pergamus had met him near the promontory of Scyllæum, in Argolis; so that his whole fleet amounted to eighty-one decked galleys, besides innumerable open vessels also equipped for war, and many other without beaks, which answered the purpose of tenders and advice boats. With this fleet, he sailed towards Delos, and was long delayed among the dangerous friths of the stormy Cyclades. Antiochus' spyboats had observed the motions of the enemy, and given intimation of them to Polyxenidas the Syrian commander at Ephesus. Polyxenidas communicated the news to his master, who returned with expedition to that harbour, in order to deliberate what was fittest to be done on such an important emergency⁴².

Polyxeni-
das the Sy-
rian admi-
ral waits
for it in the
strait of
Chios.

Polyxenidas strongly recommended a battle. He said that no Rhodian ships, and but few Pergamenians, had yet joined the Romans; that the vessels of the last mentioned people were at best heavy sailers, and being employed at a distance from home, were incumbered with baggage and provisions; that his master's ships were of a far nimbler construction, carried nothing but what was necessary in time of action, and would not fail to derive great advantage in these seas from their superior acquaintance with the currents, winds, and coasts. The opinion of Polyxenidas had the greater weight, because the same man who advised fighting, also pledged himself to conquer. He put to sea with an hundred ships, of which se-

⁴² Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 42.

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venty were decked, but none of them exceeding the ordinary rate of trireme galleys, for the dreadful storm that overtook Antiochus in his unfortunate expedition against Egypt, had destroyed, as we have already seen, all his larger and more unmanageable vessels. Polyxenidas sailed first to Phocæa, and then to Cyssuns, on the same Ionian coast, and in the strait about eight miles broad, separating the territory of Cyssuns from the isle of Chios, determined to wait the enemy's arrival on the Asian shore, and to seize the first fair occasion of encountering him in battle.

The Romans, as soon as the winds permitted, disengaged themselves from the intricate windings of the Archipelago, and sailed northward to Chios; from thence they crossed over to Phocæa, which the Syrians had recently quitted, and easily gained possession of that harbour, for the Ionian cities had sided with Antiochus only through the present terror of his arms, and were ready to welcome any power that promised to deliver them from his yoke. At Phocæa, the Romans were again joined by Eumenes, who had proceeded northward to the harbours of Pergamus to collect the remainder of his strength. He brought with him a reinforcement; which augmented the combined fleet to an hundred and fifty-five ships of war. With this armament the Romans sailed round from Phocæa, and made for Corycus and the promontory Argennum, near the southern issue of the strait in which the enemy, under Polyxenidas, lay at anchor; for Antiochus had gone in person to join his great army at the foot of mount Sipylus, about fifty miles inland in Lydia. As soon as Livius' squadron was seen sailing towards Corycus, Polyxenidas quitted the straits to meet him, in a regular line of battle a-head. The Romans then furled their sails, lowered their masts, and adjusted their rigging for combat. Two Carthaginian vessels, eager to show their zeal, as new allies, to ancient and relentless enemies, preceded the Roman van. They were encountered by three Syrians, two of whom surrounded the foremost Carthaginian, swept off her oars on

Seafight
near Cory-
cus.
Olymp.
exlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

CHAP. both sides, boarded and took her; her companion made a
 XX. speedy retreat. Livius, indignant at this inauspicious prelude, bore down in his admiral galley on the two victorious Syrians. His rowers were ordered to plunge their oars to the greatest depth possible, that the vessel might be kept steady: grappling irons were then thrown into the enemy's ships; the seafight being thus reduced to the likeness of a pitched battle, Livius exhorted his men to be mindful of their own virtue, and maintain their natural superiority over the slaves of a despot. The contest was but short, for the single Roman ship captured the two Syrians, more easily than the two Syrians had mastered the single Carthaginian. The squadrons on both sides now began a general engagement, in which Eumenes gained great honour. Polyxenidas, after the loss of thirteen ships taken and ten sunk, made all sail for Ephesus, and gained shelter there, through the superior swiftness of his ships. In pursuing him thither, the Romans were overtaken at sea by twenty-five Rhodian galleys, which had come under Pausistratus to their assistance. With this reinforcement they followed the enemy to Ephesus, and bid him defiance before that harbour. The Rhodians and Eumenes then returned home; the Romans first landed to refresh their rowers at Chios; they afterwards proceeded to Phocæa, and leaving four quinqueremes to guard that conquest, sailed with the remainder of their fleet to the friendly port of Canæ, belonging to king Eumenes, distant only five miles from Elæa, his principal harbour. At the approach of winter, the Roman ships were drawn on shore at Canæ, and defended, according to custom, by ditches and ramparts⁴³.

The fleets
 laid up dur-
 ing winter.

The consul
 Acilius
 blockades
 Amphissa.
 Olymp.
 cxlvii. 3.
 B. C. 190.

During these proceedings on the coast of Asia, the consul Acilius had been employed in alternately fighting and negotiating with the Etolians. That people, we have seen, had been permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, with the hopes of obtaining moderate terms of peace. But the senate re-

⁴³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 44, 45.

garded them as a nation lawless, unsociable, and irreclaimable; and would hear of no treaty short of unconditional submission, and the payment of the enormous fine of a thousand talents. The Etolians therefore flew to arms; and as they doubted not that the siege of Naupactus would be resumed, exerted their utmost skill and labour to render the place impregnable. In this they succeeded so completely, that Acilius, instead of renewing his attacks on Naupactus, laid siege to Amphissa, a city in Locris, bridled with a strong Etolian garrison⁴⁴.

During the blockade of Amphissa, the consul received news of the appointment of his successor, and of the vast preparations at Rome for prosecuting the war. As Antiochus was assisted by the abilities of Hannibal, the Romans had judiciously opposed to him Lucius Scipio, the brother of Publius Scipio Africanus, because, on condition that the former should be named consul, with Asia for his province, the latter offered to accompany him as second in command. In addition to the forces to be received in Greece from Acilius, Lucius carried with him a consular army, reinforced by five thousand veterans, who, though their stipulated services were long at an end, flocked eagerly to his standard, in hopes of reaping as much glory under the younger brother in Asia, as they had already acquired under the elder in Africa. The fleet, under Livius, was to be reinforced by twenty trireme galleys; and thirty ships of a larger size were getting ready in the harbours of Magna Græcia and Sicily. A friendly embassy had been received from Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, (for that princess had frustrated the hopes of her father, and entered into all the views of her husband), promising their most zealous cooperation with the Romans, if instead of being contented with Lesser Asia, they pursued the common enemy even into Syria. Little advantage was expected from their military aid; but money abounded in Egypt, and corn might be obtained there in any quantity, to augment the ample stores already pro-

The Scipios sent into Greece — their preparations Olymp. cxlviii. 3. B. C. 190.

⁴⁴ Id. l. xxxvii. c. 5.

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Cause the
siege of
Amphissa
to be rais-
ed.

vided of this article in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia; and which were ready to be transported wherever the service against Antiochus required⁴⁵.

When these previous arrangements had been made, the Scipios crossed the Hadriatic from Brundusium to Apollonia, marched through Epirus and Thessaly, and encamped in Locris, about six miles from the besieged city Amphissa. They were visited there by many congratulatory embassies of the Greeks, particularly of the Athenians, who, probably in consequence of bribes distributed among their orators and leading men, interceded in behalf of the deluded Etolians, now threatened with total ruin. At the interposition of the Athenians, the most ancient allies of Rome in those parts, Lucius granted the Etolians a truce of six months, yielding, it is said, to his brother Africanus, who always inclined to the side of clemency. But affairs now occupied his own mind far more inviting than a war among the barren rocks and intricate dens of Etolia. The siege of Amphissa was raised; and Acilius delivered the army, which had been employed in it, to the consul⁴⁶.

Tiberius
Gracchus
sent to
sound the
intentions
of Philip.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

For marching safely to the Hellespont, a free passage through Matedon was essentially requisite. The consul, therefore, by the advice of Africanus, determined to penetrate the real intentions of Philip; and for this purpose suddenly despatched to him Tiberius Gracchus, father to the unfortunate patriot of that name, then in the fervour of youth, but sagacious, penetrating, endowed with daring enterprise and indefatigable activity. From Amphissa, Gracchus, on the third day, reached Pella, a rough journey with many circuitous windings, and stretching a hundred and fifty miles in direct distance. His arrival was immediately notified to Philip, then merry at table with his friends. Serious business could not be immediately entered on, but young Gracchus was invited to take his seat in the festive circle, and had an opportunity of seeing the king without cere-

⁴⁵ Ibid. c. 2 & 3.⁴⁶ Ibid. c. 7.

mony, and his courtiers without disguise. The following days Philip rode out with his guest, showed him that the roads through his kingdom were in high order, that the rivers had every where good bridges, and that his magazines were well stored with all necessary accommodations for a great army. He then dismissed him with assurances, that every conveniency which Macedon afforded should be at the consul's orders. Gracchus made haste back to communicate this agreeable intelligence; and met the Scipios thirty miles short of Amphissa, at the place named Thaumaci, where a traveller first emerges from the mountainous defiles of Phthiotis into the extensive plains of Thessaly. Thenceforward, the army pursued its march of nearly four hundred miles in a direct distance to the Hellespont, having received on the way all imaginable assistance from Philip, who highly recommended himself to the Scipios, not only by this essential service, but by his social good humour, his urbanity and pleasantry⁴⁷.

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XX.

Philip aids
the Romans
on their
march to-
wards the
Hellespont.

While the Roman army performed its long and laborious journey, events happened in Asia calculated deeply to affect the result of this expedition. Antiochus was in Phrygia, mustering the troops in that province: Polyxenidas commanded the Syrian fleet at Ephesus, and was kept in check by the Rhodians, who had come with thirty-six sail to Samos: Hannibal was employed in collecting naval reinforcements from the coast of Syria and Phœnicia; and Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, lay with a great army in Lydia, watching the motions of Eumenes and the Romans, who had not remained idle in their fortified harbours of Elæa and Canæ, but, at the head of about ten thousand men, had spread devastation from the frontiers of Pergamus to the foot of the mountains that overhang Lydian Theatira. But these incursions were intended chiefly to create alarm; for when Livius, who commanded the Roman fleet at Canæ, heard of the consul's march towards the Hellespont, he sailed for the narrow seas with

Disposition
of Antio-
chus'
forces.

⁴⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 7.

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XX.

The Syrian
admiral
takes the
Rhodian
fleet by
treachery.
Olyn.p.
cxlviii. 3.
B. C. 190.

thirty triremes of his own, and seven quadriremes belonging to Eumenes, to possess himself of the harbours on either side, and to facilitate the transportation of his countrymen ⁴⁸.

In this state of affairs Polyxenidas, Antiochus' admiral, being himself a Rhodian exile, entered into a secret correspondence with his fellow citizen Pausistratus, who commanded in opposition to him the Rhodian fleet at Samos. Polyxenidas expressed his longing anxiety to return once more into the bosom of his beloved country; "having lived the subject of equal laws and regular government, he reluctantly obeyed the arbitrary caprices of a foreign despot:" in a word, he promised to Pausistratus that, as the price of his services in helping him to recover the citizenship of Rhodes, he would readily betray into his hands Antiochus' fleet. After measures had been concerted for executing this scheme with much precaution as it seemed, on both sides, and the too confiding mind of Pausistratus had been lulled into perfect security, Polyxenidas sailed in full force to Samos, and instead of the surrender expected from him, attacked the Rhodians unprepared, and made himself master of their whole armament, except seven vessels, which escaped by the dangerous expedient of projecting blazing fires from their prows, and thereby obliging the assailants to give them free passage. Pausistratus was slain fighting bravely to repair the unhappy effects of his credulity. The success of Polyxenidas' stratagem, more worthy of a Cretan than a Rhodian, restored Phocæa, Cymè, and several places of less note, to the dominion of Antiochus ⁴⁹.

The Romans deliberate with their allies about blocking up the harbour of Ephesus.

Upon the news of these events Livius, who had begun to attack Abydus, raised the siege of that place, and returned with the squadron employed in the Hellespont to join his ships under repair at Canæ. The Rhodians indignant at the fraud practised on them by their exiled citizen, exerted the utmost diligence in their dock yards, and having equipped twenty sail, despatched them under Eudamus to the same

⁴⁸ Ibid. c. 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 8, 9.

Pergamenian harbour. The Romans, thus reinforced, ventured to brave the lately victorious Polyxenidas before Ephesus; and when they could not provoke him to battle even by insulting devastations on the coast, returned triumphant to the opposite shore of Samos, which afforded the fittest station for watching the Syrian fleet, and hindering it from leaving Ephesus without an engagement. In this state of affairs Emilius Regillus arrived from Rome, appointed to succeed Livius. He had no sooner assumed the naval command than he summoned to a council of war Livius, king Eumenes, and the commanders of the Rhodians. The question was, how to tie up the enemy's hands at Ephesus, while they should themselves acquire full scope for action? Livius, who was first asked his opinion, proposed, he said, no other measure, than that which, had he retained the command, he should be now employed in executing. This was, to reduce the ships of burthen to hulks, and after loading them heavily with ballast, thus sink them at the mouth of the Ephesian harbour. But when this expedient was rejected as inefficacious, because the hulks, it was thought, might be easily weighed up, and the enemy left at liberty either to pursue the voyage to the narrow seas, or to harass the territory of Eumenes, it was advised by Eucrates, second in command among the Rhodians, that while the main fleet continued to block up Ephesus, a squadron should sail to Lycia, a country of great maritime resources, from which Antiochus expected immediate and powerful reinforcements.

The expedition against the Lycians, who might be gained, it was hoped, chiefly through negotiation, was intrusted to Livius, assisted by four Rhodian quadriremes and some open galleys belonging to Smyrna. In sailing along the Carian coast, Livius easily obtained the submission, or the alliance as it was then called, of Miletus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cos. But when he turned his arms against Patara, the principal seaport of Lycia, this city made such a stout resistance, that he thought proper to relinquish an en-

Unsuccessful expedition against Lycia.
Olymp. cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

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terprise which had proved fatal to many of his bravest men, and speedily to quit the Lycian coast. The Rhodians who had accompanied him proceeded to their own island; and Livius, instead of returning to the Roman fleet, passed hastily by the shores of Asia and made for Thessaly, in order to meet the Scipios, then on their march through that country ⁵⁰. Regillus, justly offended at these proceedings, sailed for Patara with the greater part of his fleet. On his way thither, he attempted to reduce Jassus in Caria, which contained a strong garrison belonging to Antiochus. The place was not to be taken without destroying the peaceful inhabitants with their dwellings; and as several Jassian exiles served on board the besieging fleet, their petitions in favour of their countrymen, who, they said, were better inclined to the Romans than to Antiochus, backed by the intercession of Eumenes and the Rhodians, made Regillus desist from an undertaking that must have proved alike fatal to his friends and to his enemies. During these transactions, murmurs arose among the military tribunes, that Regillus, through his resentment against Livius, and his eagerness to accomplish a design in which that commander had disgracefully failed, had been carried from the main object of the war, and had left the territories of the Roman allies at the mercy of Antiochus' forces by sea and land. Regillus was conscious of having exposed himself to this reproach. To obtain an honourable excuse for abandoning the design on which he had sailed, the Rhodians, whose commerce made them acquainted with every neighbouring harbour, were interrogated as to the conveniencies that might be found at Patara; and when they affirmed that it was unable to afford shelter to the whole fleet, Regillus gave orders for returning with all haste to Samos ⁵¹.

Antiochus
invades the
territory of
Pergamus.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

But before he arrived there, the evils, which had been foreseen from his absence, had happened. Though the Syrian fleet remained quiet at Ephesus, Seleucus had invaded the

⁵⁰ Ibid. c. 14, 16.

⁵¹ Ibid. c. 17.

dominions of Eumenes by land, and after a bold attempt for surprising, on that side, the harbour of Elæa, laid siege to Pergamus. To cooperate in this enterprise, Antiochus had moved with a great army from Phrygia, and encamped near to his son on the river Caicus, which flows from mount Sipylus in Lydia into the bay of Elæa. Apprised of these events by his brother and vicegerent Attalus, Eumenes hastened from Samos to Elæa; and, under an escort of cavalry and light infantry, which had been provided there for the occasion, threw himself into his besieged capital. The Roman and Rhodian fleet soon after followed him to the harbour of Elæa, eager to afford their utmost assistance to so meritorious an ally. About the same time Antiochus was informed that the Scipios were marching in great force through Macedon. This news, and the junction of so many of his enemies in one harbour, determined him again to have recourse to embassies. But Eumenes, who knew that if the Romans suspended their warfare in Asia, he must be left at the mercy of an exasperated adversary, used every means to defeat the negotiation; and at his instances chiefly, Regillus cut off all amicable intercourse, by declaring that no accommodation could take place before the consul's arrival. Upon this absolute refusal to treat upon any terms, Antiochus committed merciless ravages on the Pergamenian territory; and leaving his son Seleucus to prosecute the siege of its chief city, marched northwards to assault Adramyttium, and the rich contiguous plain, famed in the heroic ages for Thebè, the sacred city of Aëtion. Eumenes, after concerting proper measures for the defence of Pergamus, hastened to save Adramyttium and the beautiful district in its neighbourhood, the garden and the pride of his little kingdom. He arrived in time for that purpose, accompanied by his own and part of the Roman fleet; the siege of Adramyttium was raised, and Antiochus, tired with desolating its territory, returned to muster his forces at Sardes. The measures taken for the defence of Pergamus were, meanwhile, crowned with success, in consequence of a reinforcement of a thousand

Which is
defended
by Eumen-
es and his
allies.

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infantry and a hundred horse from Achaia, which Diophanes, the pupil of Philopœmen, had contrived to throw into the besieged city. By the example of this handful of men, all veterans, and actuated by the warmest zeal in defence of their Pergamenian allies, such successful sallies were made, that Seleucus thought proper to remove his camp to the seacoast, and remain there until more forces should be collected⁵².

Who retort
Antiochus'
depreda-
tions by
plundering
the isle of
Bacchium.

After affording seasonable relief to Adramyttium, Eumenes and the Romans sailed to Elæa; and from thence, to retort the injuries recently done by the enemy, undertook an expedition against Phocæa, now garrisoned by three thousand Syrians. But, since the recovery of the place, Antiochus had rendered it so strong, that it was not to be taken without more powerful engines than the assailants were provided with, or the waste of more time than they could conveniently spare. They contented themselves therefore with making a descent on the small island Bacchium, considered as the suburb or appendage to Phocæa: and in resentment of the enemy's merciless depredations in the plain of Thebè, plundered even the temples of Bacchium, and carried off the exquisite statues in which they singularly abounded⁵³.

The Ro-
mans and
Rhodians
intercept
the ene-
my's suc-
cours from
Syria, un-
der Hanni-
bal and
Apollonius.

After this expedition, which was attended with more disgrace on one side than detriment on the other, Eumenes sailed northward to the Hellespont, to assist the Scipios in their passage; the Romans proceeded in a contrary direction to Samos, to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, who still kept his station at Ephesus. The fleets of the Romans and Rhodians had hardly joined at Samos, when they learned that a great naval reinforcement was sailing to Polyxenidas from Syria, under the command of Apollonius and Hannibal. Eudamus and the Rhodians determined immediately to put to sea in order to intercept it. On their way eastward, they touched at Rhodes, and found that the magistrates of their island had already

⁵² Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 19—21.

⁵³ Ibid. c. 21.

fitted out a squadron on the same errand on which they were sailing. They overtook this squadron at sea, and proceeded in company with it to Phaselis in Lycia, from which city, or rather the lofty promontory in its neighbourhood, they were likely best to descry the enemy's approach. Under the shelter of this lofty foreland, the Rhodians took their station, amounting to thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. But they had not continued long there, when the sultry air, for it was midsummer, corrupted by marshy exhalations, bred diseases in the fleet, and obliged them to cross the Pamphylian gulph to the mouth of the Eurymedon. There, they learned that the Syrians, commanded by Apollonius and Hannibal, were at Sida; and after they had doubled the cape that projects before that Pamphylian city, they immediately got sight of the enemy and were distinctly perceived by them. The royal fleet consisted of ten trireme galleys, and thirty-seven vessels of a far larger size, either built recently in Phœnicia, or repaired after the disaster which had befallen Antiochus at sea, in his design against Egypt. The great inequality of force did not deter the Rhodians. The Syrians were not unwilling to encounter them; and, had they been otherwise disposed, would not, on account of the swiftness of the enemy's ships, have been able to avoid an engagement. For this, both parties prepared; but the Rhodians with such superiority of skill and activity as tended much to dishearten their adversaries. Their preeminence was still more conspicuous when the action commenced. Dexterously eluding the assaults of the enemy's prows, they swept off their oars on either side; and often breaking through their line, wounded their sterns. In this manner a Syrian vessel of seven banks of oars was assailed by a small Rhodian trireme, and sunk by a single stroke. Such decided superiority in seamanship, occasioned dismay in the whole right wing; and Hannibal, who had stretched out to sea, and begun to fight bravely on the left, was recalled by signal from Apollonius' admiral galley. He returned in time only to behold the total discomfiture of his

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XX.Seafight
near the
mouth of
the Eury-
medon.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
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friends, and was compelled to join in their flight. The Rhodians, who had exerted themselves beyond their natural strength in the action, especially as they were still labouring under the effects of the malady contracted at Phaselis, had neither power nor inclination to follow up their victory: On pretence that they were in danger of being windbound on a hostile coast, they relaxed their pursuit, and began to have recourse to their refreshments. Eudamus, their commander, whose ship had been crippled in the battle, called to them in this situation to behold a glorious sight; the Syrians flying in scattered disorder, many sinking under the wounds which they had received, others drawn with difficulty by rowboats, and little more than twenty of the whole number in a condition to reach by their own efforts the friendly coast of Pamphylia. By this action, the present measures of Antiochus were entirely disconcerted; and to render them equally abortive in future, twenty Rhodian galleys, under Charicletus, took their station near Patara in Lycia; the remainder, commanded by Eudamus, returned to the Romans⁵⁴ at Samos.

Negotia-
tions with
Prusias
king of
Bithynia.

During these transactions, Antiochus had been employed in a fruitless negotiation with Prusias of Bithynia. The Syrian laboured to persuade Prusias that the Romans were relentless enemies to kings, and that good policy, nay, necessity, required that he should immediately declare against them. The Scipios counteracted this application by friendly letters to Prusias, and by sending Livius, who had recently commanded the Roman fleet, as ambassador to Nicomedia. Livius had little difficulty in persuading the Bithynian to maintain a strict neutrality. He vindicated his countrymen from the reproach made to them, by showing that they were hostile to those kings only, whose immoderate lust of power had first rendered them enemies to the best interests of their people: that Philip, after his defeat, had been treated with the utmost lenity; and that Nabis, tyrant as he

⁵⁴ Ibid. c. 23, 24.

was, and traitor to his Roman allies, might have still continued king of Sparta, had he not been destroyed by his own fury, and the fraud of the Etolians⁵⁵.

Antiochus, baffled in his hopes of gaining Prusias, moved from Sardes to Ephesus, where the high order in which Polyxenidas had put his fleet, served to make compensation for many disappointments. He determined, once more, to try the fortune of a seafight, and to bring the Romans to the same resolution, laid siege to Colophon, a city on friendly terms with his enemies, and which, being only ten miles from Ephesus, gave them timely intimation of whatever passed in that harbour. The Romans, as had been expected, sailed from Samos with an intention to assist their Colophonian allies; but had occasion first to touch at Chios, their principal storehouse in those parts. There, Regillus learned, that great magazines of corn had been indeed collected, but that his round ships bearing wine, had been delayed by adverse winds; whereas a large quantity of that article belonging to the enemy, had been deposited at Teios, an Ionian city, on the coast between Samos and Chios. To gain possession of this prize, amounting to five thousand skins of wine, Regillus made for Teios, and in approaching land discovered fifteen vessels which he supposed to make part of Antiochus' fleet. He immediately gave them chase, and was surprised to find that they shaped their course towards the craggy promontory of Myonnesus, six miles southeast of Teios. They were in fact swift sailing pirates, so flat in their construction that they could easily run into any creek. Before the Romans could overtake them, they had landed under some projecting rocks, whose foundations, eat away by the rolling waves, canopied the adjacent sea, and threatened to overwhelm every vessel that approached them. There the fearless pirates had moored their fleet, at the same time that they occupied the shelving heights above, and prepared to ply with missile weapons any

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Regillus
the Roman
admiral
sails to
seize the
enemy's
wine in
Teios.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 3.
B. C. 190.

His en-
counter
with pi-
rates.

⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9. and Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 25.

CHAP. enemy by whom their ships might be assailed. The Romans
XX. and Rhodians retired with some degree of terror from yawning caverns and nodding precipices, defended by actors as desperate as the scene was frightful; and, according to their original destination, directed their course to Teios⁵⁶.

Seafight of
 Myonnesus
 near Teios.
 Olymp.
 cxlvii. 3.
 B. C. 190.

The wine, which formed the object of their voyage, was demanded and refused. The sailors landed to enforce compliance; and when the Teians persevered in obstinacy, scattered themselves over the territory, which they subjected to military execution. In this state of affairs, it became known that a great fleet was putting to sea, from the small and obscure island of Aspis about ten miles from Teios in the way to Colophon. This was the armament of Polyxenidas, who had sailed from the last named place, in hopes that he had gained the long wished opportunity of surprising the enemy. News of his appearance occasioned much trepidation; the disembarked sailors ran to their ships; Regillus hastened to the admiral galley, and formed his line with such ships as could successively be got ready. Eudamus remained on shore to direct the embarkation. When the combined fleets had proceeded to sea, they descried the Syrians approaching, at first with two ships only in front, then gradually forming the line abreast, until the Syrian left extended considerably beyond their own right. But Eudamus, who was in the rear, perceiving this manœuvre, which threatened to surround his allies and throw them in confusion, darted to the right with that celerity in which the Rhodians were preeminent; and, having restored the equality in front, boldly opposed his own ship to that bearing the ensign of Polyxenidas. His example inspired alacrity; the whole ships of either party engaged; forty-eight on the side of the Romans, and eighty-eight on that of the Syrians. Notwithstanding their inferiority in number, the seamanship of the Rhodians and the dauntless bravery of the Romans obtained a complete victory. Thir-

The Syri-
 aus de-
 feated.

⁵⁶ Ibid. c. 27.

teen Syrian ships were taken, and twenty-nine sunk or burned; for the Rhodians, as on former occasions, carried blazing fires on their prows, which contrivance chiefly contributed to their signal success. The enemy's line was also repeatedly broken through, so that they were overpowered in many places between a double attack. Scarcely half their number escaped to Ephesus under favour of a western gale⁵⁷.

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The battle of Myonnesus confirmed the superiority of the Romans at sea; and Antiochus was no longer able to dispute their passage into Asia. He saw this consequence with a degree of concern and trepidation, which seemed to deprive him of his understanding. His garrisons in Lysimachia, and other places in the Chersonesus, which he had provided so amply with every thing necessary for defence, that they might have long detained the Scipios before their walls, were hastily and pusillanimously withdrawn from posts deemed no longer tenable⁵⁸. The siege of Colophon was raised, and Antiochus retired fifty miles inland to Sardes, to review some reinforcements just arrived there from his son-in-law Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The victorious fleet refitted at Chios; and Regillus sent thirty of his own ships to assist in transporting the army across the Hellespont, expecting that the Rhodians, decorated with naval trophies, would have been in haste to return to their own island. But the generous zeal of the Rhodians made them accompany their allies northward; nor did they think of sailing to Rhodes, until the Romans had made good their landing in Asia. Meanwhile Regillus, after braving the enemy before Ephesus, recovered possession of Phocæa; a harbour recommended by its conveniency and safety, and of which the acquisition seemed the more desirable as winter was fast approaching⁵⁹.

Consternation and weak measures of Antiochus.

⁵⁷ Ibid. c. 29, and 30.

βλαπτοντος ηδη της λογισμους.

⁵⁸ Appian de Reb. Syr. c. 28. Θ'iv

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 32.

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XX.

The Ro-
mans land
in Asia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

Delayed by
two cir-
cumstances
from
marching
against An-
tiochus.

Their visit
to Troy.

The Scipios were on their march through Maronea and Ænos in Thrace, when they heard of the battle of Myonnesus and of the evacuation of Lysimachia.⁶⁰ The latter event filled them with no less pleasure than wonder, since Lysimachia would afford them an agreeable halting place at their journey's end, with all necessary accommodations provided at the expense of the enemy. On the other side of the water, Eumenes, faithful to his promise, had exerted great and successful diligence in preparing every thing needful for their reception. The consul, at the head of his army, landed in Asia with as much safety as he could have done in Italy: but

two circumstances prevented him from marching immediately against Antiochus. Before his arrival at the Hellespont, the time appropriate to the Salian festival had come round, in which the priests of Mars carried in procession the Ancilia, or sacred shields, those venerated pledges of the resistless triumph of the republic. This ceremony detained only a few days the army and its general; but compelled Africanus, himself a Salian priest, under the most religious obligation, to remain during the whole period assigned for the festival, in the same place where the beginning of it had overtaken him. He did not therefore land in Asia, until a considerable time after his brother⁶⁰. The second circumstance that retarded the march, was a visit which the duty of filial reverence made the Romans pay to Troy, the mother country from which they gloried to have sprung, because ennobled by the exploits of men worthy to be their progenitors. From this immortal district, the cities of Dardanus and Rhetium sent deputations to meet the Romans on the Trojan plain. The natives and strangers then ascended in friendly bands to Ilium and its citadel, that they might there sacrifice to Minerva; the Romans delighting in the cordial hospitality of those whom they revered as their parents; the Trojans rejoicing in the lofty destinies of their offspring, who, hav-

⁶⁰ Ibid. c. 33.

ing subdued Europe and Africa, now came to recover their more ancient dominion in Asia⁶¹. CHAP.
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During the delay occasioned by the first of these halts, Antiochus, who, in the midst of his anxieties, was ready to lay hold of every circumstance however trifling, that could be favourably construed, sent his ambassador Heraclides of Byzantium to the Romans, as if they had stopped short in order to leave room for negotiation. His firmer hopes were founded on the disposition of Africanus, who, already satiated with glory, would the more naturally incline to peace, and even on the gratitude of that general, because his son having fallen into the hands of Antiochus in the beginning of the war, (captured, it is most likely, on the coast of Eubœa) was then a prisoner with the king, but had been treated by him with every indulgence that could soothe his confinement. Heraclides first addressed himself publicly to the consul in the assembly of his lieutenants and military tribunes. He observed that, to obtain peace, Antiochus had already evacuated Lysimachia, and was ready to desist from all pretensions to Lampsacus and Smyrna: that, having thus yielded the points for which the war had been undertaken, he was farther willing to defray one half of the expense which the Romans had incurred in the prosecution of it. He was answered, that, as the Romans had taken arms to emancipate the Greek cities in Asia, their object could not be secured unless Antiochus relinquished all the territory on this side mount Taurus; and that, as the king's ambition only was to blame, not one half, but the whole expense of the war, must be defrayed by him. To obtain abatement in these demands, Heraclides had recourse privately to Africanus, endeavouring to tempt him with bribes, and giving him assurances that his son should speedily be restored to him: a youth whose personal fame is obscured by his interposition between the two greatest of the Scipios, Africanus his father, and Emilianus his adopted son. The former thus answered the am-

Antiochus
endeavours
to obtain
peace.

Terms
proposed
by his am-
bassador.

⁶¹ Ibid. c. 37.

CHAP. XX. **Rejected.** **bassador,** "I am less surprised that you should not know the Romans, than that you should be ignorant of the condition of your own master. After relinquishing the defences of Ly-simachia and the Hellespont, and having allowed the Romans to pass quietly into Asia, Antiochus may be compared to a horse that has not only admitted the rein, but patiently received a rider. I shall accept my son, from his hands, as the highest personal favour; and shall be ready to repay him by every personal service in my power. But, as to public affairs, I can do nothing for his interest, except by giving him this one advice, that he accept any terms of peace, however unreasonable they may appear to him⁶²."

Antiochus
takes post
at Magne-
sia near
mount
Sipylos.

Shortly after this transaction, the Romans proceeded to Troy, and from thence, in six marches, to the river Caicus which flows on the southern frontier of Pergamus. Eumenes, in order to join them, had purposed returning by sea from the Hellespont to Elæa; but as contrary winds hindered him from doubling the promontory of Lectum, he quitted his fleet, and proceeded by land through the nearest route to his allies, that he might afford them his utmost assistance in the decisive conflict that now seemed inevitable. About the same time that Eumenes arrived in the camp, Scipio Africanus was obliged, by indisposition, to leave it. He was conveyed to Elæa; and continued in a languishing state, until an event most pleasing to his mind, produced effects highly salutary to his body. This was an embassy from Antiochus, restoring to him his long captive son. Africanus expressed much gratitude to the Syrian ambassadors, which he enjoined them to convey in the warmest terms to their master, with an advice, the only remuneration in his power, that Antiochus should not fight the Romans, until the man, whom he had so highly obliged, had rejoined their camp. Upon receiving this message, Antiochus, with his army of seventy thousand foot and above twelve thousand horse, fell back from the neighbourhood of Theatira where he then lay,

⁶² Polyb. l. xxi. c. 11, 12. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 36.

and having passed the river Phrygius or Hyllus, encamped at Magnesia, an Ionian city about forty miles inland from the harbour of Phocæa, and situate at no great distance from mount Sipylus, and still nearer to the confluence of the rivers Hyllus and Hermus. This convenient post he carefully fortified with a double rampart, flanked with towers, purposing to keep on the defensive until Africanus rejoined his brother⁶³.

The Romans, eager for battle, advanced from the left bank of the Caicus, first in the direction of Theatira; but when they heard of Antiochus' removal from that place, they proceeded southward to the Hyllus, and encamped on its right bank, only four miles from the enemy. They had scarcely occupied this ground, when the Dahæ, a Scythian tribe from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes, intermixed with Gauls or Galatians, men equally fierce and still more presumptuous, ventured to cross the Hyllus, and made furious assaults on the Roman outposts. These irregulars were repelled with considerable loss, and both armies remained quiet for two days. On the third, the Romans passed in close ranks the Hyllus, and encamped, notwithstanding much molestation from chosen bodies of the enemy, at the distance of two miles from his lines. During the four succeeding days, both armies maintained a threatening posture before their respective entrenchments; but, when the fifth morning arose, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain; without exciting, however, any corresponding ardour on the side of the Syrians. The consul, perceiving their great unwillingness to come to a general engagement, called a council of war, or rather an assembly of his soldiers. He told them, that, if the battle was deferred, they must either, as winter was at hand, be cooped up within their leathern tents, or, by going into winter quarters, postpone to a future season the triumph of their arms. They exclaimed unanimously "Lead us to the hostile camp; the ramparts of the

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Decisive
battle of
Magnesia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

⁶³ Ibid. c. 37.

CHAP. XX. Syrians will not resist our valour." After Cneius Domitius, who, in the absence of Africanus, acted as second in command, had carefully examined the intermediate ground, the Romans advanced their standards; and at the same time Antiochus, whose resolutions were all taken precipitately, and never consistently executed, also proceeded from his camp. The Romans speedily arrayed themselves in their well known triple order; their main body consisting of four legions, amounted to twenty-one thousand and six hundred men; their allies, intermixed with a few squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, were nearly half that number; among whom three thousand had been supplied by Eumenes, and a large body of Thracians and Macedonians by Philip. Antiochus' vast army presented to a military eye a spectacle more gorgeous than terrible. His phalanx of sixteen thousand pikemen, drawn up thirty-two⁶⁴ in depth, formed its main strength; but this efficient body was clogged by an unwieldy mass of auxiliaries. Its sections were divided by towerbearing elephants; a line of chariots, armed with scythes, incumbered its front; instead of rapid cavalry and nimble *hypaspists*, the only serviceable aids to the phalanx, Antiochus had flanked it by heavy cataphracts, while his auxiliary foot consisted of an ill armed and motley rabble. The king was at the head of his right wing; the left was intrusted to his son Seleucus; Zeuxis and Minio, men not unknown to the reader, commanded the center. By means of the select body of horse, the *Agema*, still trained in the exercises which the great Alexander had taught, Antiochus broke the cavalry which opposed him, and pursued it with some auxiliary infantry towards the Roman camp. There, the tribune Emilius commanded a reserve of two thousand men, whom he led to meet and cut down the fugitives, unless they returned instantly to the charge. At the same time, Attalus came seasonably to reinforce them with a body of Pergamenian horse. Antiochus was repelled in his turn, but regained the field of battle to

The phalanx defeated,—why.

⁶⁴ Appian de Reb. Syr. c. 32.

behold the rout or rather the total destruction of his army. **CHAP. XX.**
 This, in general, was all that he had time to learn, for the danger that threatened him of death or captivity, made him continue his full speed in company with a few horsemen, and advance fifty miles without halting, until he arrived, about midnight, at Sardes. The victory had been gained chiefly through the abilities of Eumenes. By empty sounds, and desultory or feigned assaults, he frightened the horses drawing the scythed chariots, and thereby gave new efficacy to the obstacles which the Syrians themselves had opposed to the shock of their phalanx. That body, which was alone fitted to cope with and defeat the Romans, did not once charge in its ranks: it was disordered, and therefore easily overpowered. About fifty thousand Syrians were slain in the battle, in the pursuit, or in their fortified camp into which they had thrown themselves. Few prisoners were taken; the loss on the side of the victors is reduced by the usual misrepresentations of partiality and vanity, below the number of four hundred. From the wide variety of nations engaged, the field of battle presented a singularly chequered scene of carnage: Grecian phalangites confounded in heaps with Gallic swordsmen; Scythians with hatchets, and Persian archers strowing promiscuously the ground; Medes weltering in blood, with their proud Nisæan horses, and elephants with their Indian conductors; Parthian cataphracts clad, or rather shrouded, in complete steel; Arabs, near their dying camels, still grasping long and light cimeters⁶⁵.

When Antiochus reached Sardes, he found, that rapid as his own flight had been, his son Seleucus had yet outstripped his speed, and was then on his way to Apamea in Phrygia. The king hastened thither in the morning; traversed Phrygia, crossed mount Taurus, descended into the plain of Cilicia, penetrated the Syrian gates at Issus, and arrived with sad marks of discomfiture at his capital Antioch. Ephesus, Sardes, with all the inferior cities of Ionia and Lydia, sent

Eumenes
had the
principal
share in
the victory.

Peace
granted to
Antiochus.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

⁶⁵ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 30—39.

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offers of submission to the victors. The fleet under Polyxenidas, having learned the ruin of the army with which it had long cooperated, left the Ionian coast, and sailed to Patara in Lycia. Here Polyxenidas disembarked; and lest he should be intercepted at sea by the Rhodians, pursued the remainder of his way to Syria by land, in company with a few of his officers. After a short deliberation at Antioch, the king sent his nephew Antipater, and Zeuxis, who had long been his viceroy in Lydia, to beg, rather than negotiate, a peace. The consul had advanced to Sardes; Eumenes accompanied him; they were joined by Africanus from Elæa, only just recovered from his indisposition. In the ancient capital of Lydia, and in a council of their officers and allies, the Scipios gave audience to the two Syrians, who debased their humiliating commission by their abject manner of executing it. Zeuxis, who spoke in the name of both, said that they had come, not to make any proposition on the part of Antiochus, their master, but to learn from the Romans by what means that prince might atone for past errors. The battle of Magnesia, they acknowledged, was altogether decisive. On many former occasions, the Romans had signalized their clemency to conquered kings; but the exercise of the same virtue now became them more peculiarly, when the success of their arms had made them gods on earth, and required of them an imitation of those celestial beings in pardoning the frailties of men, and showering on them unmerited benefits⁶⁶.

Its conditions.

Africanus made answer, according to previous concert in the council. "With regard to power and territory, and all external advantages, the Romans possessed what the bounty of providence had conferred on them; but as to what depended merely on themselves, the temper of their own minds, it remained the same under every vicissitude of fortune. The conditions of peace, therefore, should not be materially different from those offered to Antiochus before his defeat.

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 44, 45.

He must desist from every design of reestablishing his settlements on the eastern coast of Europe; after withdrawing his garrisons, he must relinquish all pretensions to Asia on this side mount Taurus; he must pay fifteen thousand Eubœic talents to defray the expense of the war: five hundred on demand; two thousand five hundred at the ratification of peace by the senate; and the remainder by twelve annual payments of a thousand talents each, in the course of twelve years. For the performance of these articles, the Romans required twenty hostages, among whom they named the king's son, bearing also the name of Antiochus. They demanded, likewise, that Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Etolian, should be put into their hands. By his past delays, Antiochus treated less honourably now, than he might have done formerly; let him therefore hesitate no longer, but remember that it is easier to reduce kings from mediocrity to the lowest adversity, than to degrade them into a middle place from the pinnacle of fortune." These conditions of peace, oppressive enough in themselves, were afterwards aggravated by the senate. Antiochus was required to surrender his elephants, and all his ships of war except ten only, which were not to advance westward beyond the river Calycadmus in Cilicia, unless for the purpose of conveying ambassadors, hostages, or tribute. The mention of the Calycadmus on this occasion serves to define the doubtful expression of *Asia on this side mount Taurus*. For the Calycadmus, as well as the Halys, rises among the mountains of Cilicia, but flows southward into the Mediterranean⁶⁷, while the Halys flows northward into the Euxine. The opposite courses of the two rivers thus naturally divide the peninsula; and the territory to the west of them was to be left at the disposition of the Romans and their allies. In computing the tribute, the Eubœan talent had been named, because that of the greatest weight; but the senate further added, that the silver should be of the Attic standard, be-

⁶⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 670.

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cause this was the finest. It required also that Antiochus should pay about five hundred talents to king Eumenes, and embrace every measure necessary for living on good terms with that prince and the Rhodians. All persons belonging to the ceded territory serving in Antiochus' armies or garrisons, were to be immediately discharged by him; but such subjects of the king as had taken part with the Romans and their allies, or had by any means fallen into their hands, were either to remain or depart at pleasure⁶⁸.

Death of
Hannibal.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 283.

The whole of these conditions were accepted, and faithfully executed in as far as they depended on the Syrian king. But it was not in his power to surrender Thoas and Hannibal, the former of whom had been the furious instigator of the war, and the latter an *unfortunate* encourager of it, only because his counsels had been rejected. Hannibal, as we have seen, had been intercepted by the Rhodians on the coast of Lycia, and thereby prevented from assisting in the battle of Magnesia. Upon the intelligence of Antiochus' defeat, not doubting but, through the persecution of the Romans, he would be proscribed in Syria as he had formerly been banished from Carthage, he betook himself to a timely flight, and appears to have successively sought protection in Crete, Armenia, and Bithynia. Among the perfidious and greedy Cretans, a fugitive, whose head was of value, could not long be safe. Hannibal escaped to Armenia, where Artaxias, viceroy of that country, had availed himself of favourable circumstances to erect his satrapy into a kingdom. The discernment of the Carthaginian is said to have pointed out to him the fittest situation for his new capital Artaxata⁶⁹, in a beautiful plain almost surrounded by the Araxes. The misfortunes which, as we shall see afterwards, befel Artaxias, obliged Hannibal to repair to Bithynia; where, in the same year that Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, Prusias, surnamed the Hunter, succeeded to Prusias the Lane. This

⁶⁸ Plutarch in Flamin. Conf. Po- & 26.
 loybius, l. xxi. c. 14. l. xxii. c. 7 ⁶⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

new king of Bithynia, who is described as a vile compound of levity and effeminacy, was persuaded by Hannibal to make war on his neighbour Eumenes of Pergamus. The Romans sent Quintius Flaminius the conqueror of Philip at Kynocéphalæ, together with Scipio, surnamed Asiaticus, from his victory at Magnesia, to mediate a peace between them. Hannibal became the victim of this embassy, either through the implacable resentment of the Romans, or the natural vileness of Prusias, who was eager to destroy a guest so obnoxious to them. Hannibal's retreat, the small fortress of Libyssa, on the coast of Bithynia, was beset by armed men; the subterranean passages which his caution had drawn from it to the sea shore were at the same time obstructed. Perceiving that he could only escape his enemies by death, he is said to have drunk bull's blood like Themistocles⁷⁰, a man whom he much resembled, both in the energy of his character, and the malignancy of his fortune.

Thoas the Etolian escaped indeed the immediate vengeance of the Romans, after the defeat of Antiochus. But at the distance of several years, we know not clearly by what means, he fell into their power. At the intercession of two of his countrymen, Pantaleon and Nicander, he was released however from captivity, and again resumed the same turbulent part that he had formerly acted in the councils of his country. The just reproaches of those by whom he had recently recovered freedom, exposed him to summary justice from the enraged multitude⁷¹. He was stoned in the Etolian assembly, probably to death; since from this period, twelve years after the battle of Magnesia, he disappears from history.

Shortly after dictating the terms of peace at Sardes, the Scipios cantoned their troops into the neighbouring cities. They, as well as Regillus, who commanded the fleet, delayed, until successors were appointed for them, to return home to their respective triumphs. Much work still remained

Causes
which de-
tained the
Scipios in
Asia.

⁷⁰ Conf. Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51.

⁷¹ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 4.

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to be done in Asia; for though the Romans purposed not to retain a foot of ground in that continent, they had to superintend the faithful execution of the treaty on the part of Antiochus; to chastise the Gauls and Cappadocians, auxiliaries to that prince; and to divide his spoils on this side mount Taurus, between their own zealous allies Eumenes and the Rhodians. The Syrian garrisons which might prove refractory to the will of their disgraced master, were to be expelled from Ænos, Maronea, and other distant strongholds; and Roman captives, of whom many thousands had been reduced to slavery in the course of the late and preceding wars, were to be recovered from the coasts and islands to which they had been transported. For effecting these important purposes, the consul Manlius Vulso, and the pretor Fabius Labeo, were respectively appointed to command the forces by land and sea in Asia; the other consul Fulvius Nobilior conducted reinforcements into Greece, to extinguish the embers of Antiochus' party in that country, which were still ready to be inflamed by the restless Etolians.

Perfidery
of the Etolians.

That people, equally perfidious and fierce, negotiated at Rome, while their arms infested the territories of the Roman allies. To obtain impunity for their depredations, their ambassadors gave out, during the dependence of the war with Antiochus, that the Scipios had been decoyed into a conference with a view to recover the son of Africanus; and that the generals being treacherously made captive, their camp had been surprised and taken, and their whole forces destroyed. Upon the confidence of this report, which the Romans should seem to have credited, the Etolians rose in their demands, and behaved with so much insolence, that they were ordered to quit Rome in twenty-four hours, and to leave Italy in fifteen days. They were scarcely gone, when the wild rumour which they had raised was dispelled by Aurelius Cotta. He arrived from the camp of the Scipios to announce their decided victory, accompanied by king

Eumenes in person, and by deputies from Antiochus, the Rhodians, and all the principal free cities in Lesser Asia⁷². CHAP.
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On the day appointed for hearing the strangers in the senate, Eumenes had the first audience, in compliment rather to his merit as an ally, than to his royal dignity. He thanked the Romans for delivering his kingdom from invasion, and his capital from a siege; and congratulated them on their complete and illustrious success by sea and land; adding, that as to what he himself had done against the common enemy, he wished that the senators should rather learn it from the report of their commanders than hear it from his own mouth. The senate desired that he would mention his expectations; "important and strenuous as his exertions had been, the generosity of the Romans would equal, and, if possible, surpass them." Eumenes replied, that if he stood in a similar relation to any other power, he would consult the wisdom of the senate, to know what request he should make, and to what rewards he was entitled. This resolution was still more natural, when his remuneration was to proceed from the Romans themselves. He therefore submitted the affair wholly to their own discretion. The conscript fathers acknowledged the compliment, but still urged him to speak out. The king's modesty was unalterable, and rather than yield in this contest of complaisance, he abruptly left the senate house. When surprise at his departure had subsided, some senators observed, that it was strange in Eumenes to have come to Rome without knowing his own errand; that he was better acquainted, than they were, with Asia; and could better tell what new acquisitions there, would suit the conveniency of his kingdom. He was accordingly brought back to the senate house, and kindly constrained to make his demands. "My resolution," he said, "to keep silence would be invincible, did I not know, conscript fathers! that you are soon to give audience to the Rhodians. They will tell you, that your dignity and consistency are concerned in giving

Eumenes' demands made in the senate. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48, & seq.

CHAP. freedom to the Greek cities of Asia; and this proposition
XX will be the more likely to meet with a favourable reception, because it will not appear at first sight to contain any thing injurious to me, or peculiarly advantageous to them; yet the contrary of this will be found true. The emancipation of the Greek cities, recently tributaries to Antiochus, will encourage my own subjects to rebel; I shall lose my authority, and they will not recover liberty; for the Rhodians, through the specious merit of delivering them from a foreign yoke, will subject them, under the name of allies, to a jurisdiction severer than mine. Do not then listen in this matter to the Rhodians; nor exalt them too highly by my undeserved depression. In mere questions of interest, I am not of a disposition obstinately to contend; but I will struggle to the utmost for your friendship, and the marks by which it is attested. These are hereditary possessions delivered down to me from my father, your first ally in Asia; who having co-operated with you uniformly through a long life, at last died in your service. His zeal I could not exceed; and, if I have surpassed his actions, my superiority in this respect is due to fortune, the times, and your war with Antiochus. That prince, master of so many kingdoms, offered me his daughter in marriage, and other splendid advantages. I boast not of rejecting his gifts, which, consistently with my devotion to you, I could not possibly have accepted; but in maintaining fidelity to Rome, which of your allies have either equalled my exertions or incurred my sufferings? My territories were ravaged, my capital was besieged; my expenses in military and naval stores are without example; I have fought in every battle by sea and land; my brother and my subjects seconded my ardour; and wherever we were posted our valour was successful. You still ask, senators! what are my demands? I will make a fair but reluctant answer. If, when you drove Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, you intended to occupy for yourselves the conquered territory, I should rejoice in

having the Romans for my neighbours. Nothing, I know, could more effectually contribute to my happiness and security. But if you mean to withdraw your armies from Asia, I venture to affirm that none of your allies is better entitled than I am to reap the fruits of your illustrious victory." The senate marked approbation, and Eumenes retired⁷³. CHAP.
XX.

The ambassadors of Rhodes, who as allies stood next in merit, would have been heard immediately after the king of Pergamus; but it happened, unaccountably, that some persons essential to the deputation were absent; and the envoys from Smyrna being eager for admission, were therefore introduced before the Rhodians, and met with great praises from the senate, for their firmness in resisting a long siege, rather than submit to Antiochus. The Rhodians, who had been missing, by this time joined their companions. They began, by deploring the necessity of obstructing any of the views of Eumenes, whom of all kings they most respected. "But our opposition," they said, "originates not in personal considerations, but in the unalterable nature of things. Kings love power, and are perpetually ambitious to extend it. Republics cherish liberty, and knowing how sweet it is, are eager to diffuse its benefits around them. But the conquests, Romans! which you have made, equally rich and extensive, will enable you, without offence to the sacred name of freedom, to reward Eumenes even to the full extent of his deserts. The countries wrested from Antiochus: Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Pisidia and the Chersonesus, these, or part of these possessions, will swell the dominions of Pergamus to a great kingdom. In order to gratify your royal ally, it is not necessary that you should abandon the maxims which first carried your arms into Greece, and to which you adhered with so much honour to yourselves after the defeat of Philip. You gave freedom to the Greeks in Europe; bestow the same boon on those in Asia, even to the boundary of Mount Tau-

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 52. and seq.

CHAP.
XX.

rus. The Greek colonies in Asia have rivalled their European ancestors in laws and arts, and every laudable pursuit. They long maintained independence by domestic strength; their minds and tempers are the same under an altered state of external fortune; they pray that the power of the sword may remain perpetually with whom it now is, and with whom it is least likely to be abused. Embrace them, therefore, with your protection; and you will acquire a real and peculiar glory in peace, surpassing that of all warlike achievements⁷⁴." The speech seemed suitable to the magnanimity then felt, or affected, by those to whom it was addressed. The ambassadors of Antiochus were then admitted, and procured the ratification of the peace which had been formerly dictated to them at Sardes. The various deputies from the Greek cities of Asia had also their respective audiences, to all of whom the senate gave one and the same answer; namely, that ten commissioners, according to custom, would be sent speedily to examine and regulate their affairs. The outline of the new arrangement was however immediately signified to them: that the cities, which had been subject to Attalus, should continue tributary to Eumenes; and that those which had paid tribute to Antiochus should thenceforward be exempted from that burthen. In this decision, the Romans held a middle course between the two opposite roads proposed respectively by the Rhodians and Eumenes. Instead of emancipating, as the former had recommended, the Greek cities universally, they not only exempted, by their present resolution, those belonging to Eumenes, but their commissioners, soon after they had arrived in Asia, assigned to that prince such other cities as had most distinguished their zeal and services in the cause of Antiochus. While their decision was in this respect displeasing to the Rhodians, they gratified, on the other hand, that people, by securing freedom to all those commonwealths which either enjoyed independence at the commencement of the war, or in

⁷⁴ Ibid. c. 54.

the course of it had sided with themselves, or which, though subject to their adversary, had afforded him only a scanty and reluctant assistance. The dominions of Antiochus in Lycia and Caria, were at the same time decreed to the Rhodians⁷⁵. His royal forests, the territories which he held in Lydia and Mysia, the rich plains of Phrygia and Lycaonia, all these valuable countries in Asia, as well as the Thracian Chersonesus in Europe, were granted to Eumenes. The little principality of Pergamus thus rose to a great monarchy, whose master showed himself worthy of his good fortune. His new acquisitions were governed with the same wisdom and equity that had so highly benefited and improved his patrimonial kingdom; and the Greek cities, subjected to his authority, had no reason to envy the happiness of free republics⁷⁶. The liberality of the Romans having made these splendid presents, the Rhodians were encouraged to intercede for the city of Soli in Cilicia. This was a Greek colony on the other side of mount Taurus, and according to that line of demarcation abandoned to Antiochus. The Rhodians said, that the inhabitants of Soli were of the same blood with themselves, since both were colonies from Argos. They intreated, therefore, that it might be exempted from the king's imposts and garrisons. The Romans conferred on the subject of this petition with the ambassadors, Antipater and Zeuxis, but found them totally averse to the resignation of Soli. Their reluctance was communicated to the Rhodians, who at the same time were told, that every effort would be made to remove it, should the emancipation of Soli be deemed essential to the interest and dignity of Rhodes. The Rhodians warmly thanked the senate for this last proof of its goodness: but observed, that they would rather submit to the obstinacy of the king's ambassadors, than be the means of disturbing the peace⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. l. xxii. c. 7.

⁷⁷ Id. *ibid.* l. xxxvii. c. 56.

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 5.

CHAP.
XX.

March of
the consul
Manlius to
Galatia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

Meanwhile the consul Manlius had received from the Scipios the command of the legions in Asia. Having assembled them at Ephesus, he extolled with due praise their victory over Antiochus, but told them, "that their work was still incomplete, while the Gauls, zealous abettors of that prince, domineered over both sides the Halys; the Trocmi on the east, and the Tolistoboi and the Tectosages on the west of that river. This insolent nation, whose merciless ravages had so long deformed the peninsula, trusting to their distance of nearly three hundred miles from the Grecian sea, presumed to set the invasion of the Romans at defiance. Nothing therefore would be gained by the removal of Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, unless the arrogance of the Gauls were humbled, since a fiercer domination would succeed to that of the Syrians, and still more cruelly tyrannize over the Roman allies." The soldiers, who hoped for an easy victory, and a rich booty, showed much eagerness to march against the enemy. King Eumenes had directed their motions on the coast; his brother Attalus, in the absence of that prince at Rome, was to conduct them through the inland country. Attalus joined the consul near the Meander, with a thousand infantry and two hundred horse: they crossed that river, fifty miles above its mouth, in boats, and landed on the southern bank at Hieracomè, a place famous for the oracle of Apollo, and governed in its internal concerns by priests, whose prerogatives had been long respected by every power bearing sway in Lesser Asia. The army proceeded in two marches to the river Harpasus, where it was joined by Athenæus, also brother to Eumenes, commanding a larger reinforcement than that recently brought by Attalus. To the consul, preparing for his departure, an embassy came from Alabanda, a Carian city dependent on the Rhodians, craving his assistance in the reduction of a neighbouring stronghold that had revolted. He detached a few cohorts to perform this service, and continued

his progress eastward to Antioch on the Meander. To this place, stipulated supplies of corn were brought to him by Seleucus the son of Antiochus. Some difficulty was made about victualling the forces under Attalus and Athenæus. Seleucus contended, that he was not bound in any treaty with them. But Manlius declared, that he would not accept the corn offered to him, until the Roman allies had been plentifully supplied with that article. This firmness ended the debate. In advancing from the banks of the Meander to those of the Chaus, the Romans were unexpectedly encountered by some cavalry belonging to Tabes, a city proud in its connexion and consanguinity with the warlike Pisidians. The assailants were made to feel the inferiority of their weapons and discipline, and compelled to purchase pardon by the payment of twenty-five talents, and 10,000 bushels of wheat. From the Chaus the consul proceeded to the Indus, a small torrent on the southern frontier of Phrygia, which received that magnificent name from the disaster of an Indian, who had been drowned in passing it on his elephant⁷⁸.

The Romans were now in the neighbourhood of Cibyra, which with some strongholds on the neighbouring mountains, obeyed Moagetes, a cruel and crafty tyrant. Not to leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, the consul sent against Cibyra his lieutenant Helvius with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. This detachment was met by ambassadors from the tyrant, bearing a present of fifteen talents of silver, and craving that his country might be spared. Helvius referred them to the consul, who answered their request by saying, that such was their master's infamy, that there was little room for friendship and great cause for punishment. The ambassadors only begged the consul to receive the money, and to allow Moagetes to appear personally before him, that he might make his own defence. Accordingly, next day, the tyrant came to the Roman camp, equipped and attended below

CHAP.
XX.

Seleucus
obliged to
supply the
Pergame-
nians with
corn.

Contribu-
tions raised
on Moa-
getes, ty-
rant of
Cibyra.

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 12—14.

CHAP. the condition of a private citizen. His speech was conforma-
XX. ble to his appearance; low, plaintive, and faltering: he bewailed the poverty of his people, and gave rather a hope, than any positive assurance, that, by begging them and himself, he would endeavour to collect the sum of twenty-five talents. The consul told him, that such vile hypocrisy was not to be endured. "It was not enough, that yesterday you trifled with us by ambassadors. You must now repeat the mockery yourself. Twenty-five talents, you say, would beggar you and your country: but unless in the space of three days, you pay five hundred talents, your territory will be ravaged, and your capital in ruins." Moagetes persevered in affirming his inability to comply; and amidst tears, prayers, and cavils, prevailed on the consul to be contented with one hundred talents, and a thousand bushels of corn⁷⁹.

Manlius
proceeds
to the Tolistoboi

In their march eastward, the Romans entered the confines of the Pisidian mountaineers, who defied foreign enemies, and made implacable wars with each other. The people of Isionda, after their town had been taken, were blocked up in their citadel by their neighbours of Termessus. The consul obliged the besiegers to retire, and exacted from them fifty talents. Similar contributions were raised on other cities on his way, which had not soothed him by voluntary presents or submissive embassies. Having in this manner traversed part of Pisidia and Pamphylia, he directed his course northward to the sources of the Meander, and the ancient city of Cælænæ, then called Apamea from the wife of Seleucus Nicator. To this place, the namesake of that illustrious prince, and the fifth from him in descent, came by order of his father to meet the Roman conquerors, and to supply them with guides and other conveniences for the remainder of their march, to the confines of the Tolistoboi, the nearest division of their Gallic enemies.

Preparations of the Gauls.

The whole of this clan was not of one mind. Since their bloody defeat by Attalus, the father of Eumenes, many Gauls

⁷⁹ Ibid. c. 15.

had betaken themselves to a settled life; and, in imitation of the nations around them, were occupied in agriculture and the arts. To people, thus employed, it seemed better to make the submissions required of them, than to try the chance of war. They brought presents to the invaders, and acquainted them with the motions and views of their ill advised brethren. The Tolistoboi, they said, had retired northward, and taken post among the fastnesses of Olympus, which formed their boundary with Bithynia. The Tectosages had occupied Magaba, a continuation eastward of the same mountain. The Trocmi having deposited their property and families with the Tectosages, had joined with all their warriors the forces of the Tolistoboi; hopeful that the Romans would either not follow them to their mountainous retreats, or would not long remain in those cold and rude regions. They had, however, transported with them provisions to hold out against an obstinate siege: of missile weapons they had not collected any supply, because the rocky country furnished them with exhaustless magazines of stones to be hurled against an approaching enemy⁸⁰.

Manlius, as the principles of war on such ground required, marched against them in divisions. His light troops were numerous, and provided amply with javelins, arrows, and leaden bullets. The Gauls, with their usual presumption, sallied from their camp. They began to ply their natural artillery of stones and rocks, in which, however, they found but little resource, while their own half naked bodies were dreadfully galled by the well directed weapons of the enemy. The balls, launched from slings, sunk deep into their flesh, and the barbed arrows and javelins could not be extracted. They were driven back in dismay to their camp, before the entrances to which they made a crowded stand, and were thereby exposed to a ruinous discharge of Roman pila. This was the last act of the battle, which was entirely decided by missile weapons. The Gauls fled on all sides: about forty thou-

CHAP.
XX.

Battle of
Olympus.

⁸⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16, et seq.

CHAP. sand of them were slain or taken: their camp, with their wo-
XX. men and effects, fell a prey to the victors⁸¹.

Battle of
Magaba—
Total de-
feat of the
Gauls.

After this success at Olympus, the consul descended to Ancyra and refreshed his soldiers in that industrious and peaceful city, with the design of speedily leading them against a second army of the enemy, posted at Magaba. The Tectosages, occupying this mountain, had received succours from the Cappadocians beyond the Halys, and had determined to make a vigorous resistance. They sent ambassadors, however, to the consul, and by vain professions of submission, decoyed him to a pretended conference with their chiefs, midway between the Gallic camp and Ancyra⁸². While Manlius, with a small escort, approached the place appointed, he was surprised by a body of Gallic cavalry, advancing with their horses in a foam; and would have been totally cut off, had not fortune defended the law of nations against this detestable perfidy. Some Romans, having gone in the morning in quest of wood and forage, happened to be at hand; seasonably rescued their general, and repelled the enemy. Next day, the consul breathing resentment, marched in full force against the camp of Magaba. Here a second battle was fought, scarcely distinguishable in any circumstance from the former. The Gauls lost nearly the whole of their warriors, and the rich spoils accumulated by a people represented as the cruellest and greediest of all antiquity. The remnant of the nation sent tokens of submission; Manlius ordered their ambassadors to meet him at Ephesus⁸³.

Bold ex-
ploit of
Chiomara,
wife to a
Gallic
chieftain.

The same historians, who brand the ferocity and rapacity of the Gauls, celebrate the virtue, as well as beauty, of Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, chief of the Tolisto-boii. Being taken in the battle of Olympus, she had been carried to Ancyra. The centurion, to whom she was intrusted, did violence to her person, and then offered to release her from captivity, in case she could procure a ransom.

⁸¹ Ibid. c. 21.

miles asunder.

⁸² The camp and city were ten

⁸³ Ibid. c. 25. and seq.

The time the place, and the sum of money were agreed on; as well as the number of those, two only, who should convey it. Through the intervention of a faithful slave, found among the centurion's prisoners, her friends were apprised of the condition of her liberation. Two of them, on the night appointed, brought in gold the value of a talent⁸⁴, and gave it to weigh to the centurion, who had anxiously waited for them with his captive. While his thoughts were occupied about the gold, she commanded her ransomers to stab him to the heart. They obeyed; his head was then severed from his body, and being wrapped up in her robe by Chiomara, was carried to her husband Ortiagon in the place of his retreat, and thrown on the ground before him, in proof of the punishment by which she had avenged her violated chastity⁸⁵.

While Manlius conquered the Gauls, Fabius Labeo, who commanded the Roman fleet, accomplished the various objects committed to him by the senate; the expulsion of Antiochus' garrisons from the seacoast, the destruction of his ships of war, and the recovery of Romans sold into slavery. These additions to his own more splendid success enabled the consul, on his return to Ephesus, to settle the affairs of the peninsula, to the complete satisfaction of the allies in that quarter. To answer finally the numerous embassies, which solicited his attention, he only waited for the return of Eumenes from Rome, whose absence from the Gallic war, had been ably supplied by his brother Attalus. In concert with these princes, Manlius announced the same terms of peace to the Syrians which had formerly been tendered to them: the Gauls were commanded to desist in future from their wandering and predatory life: Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who had assisted both them and Antiochus, purchased pardon at the price of two hundred talents. This was an inconsiderable atonement for such high provocations. But the Romans wished not yet to carry their arms beyond the Halys;

CHAP.
XX.

Operations
of the fleet
under La-
beo.

Pacifica-
tion of
Asia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁸⁴ That is, the value of a silver talent, 193*l.* 15*s.*

⁸⁵ Ibid. c. 24.

CHAP. XX. and Ariarathes, having about this time betrothed his daughter to Eumenes, obtained, through the interest of that prince, a remission of half the amercement⁸⁶.

The Romans plundered in their return home by the Thracians.

The pacification of the East being thus effected, and the friends of Rome thereby secured in the important advantages decreed to them, the army crossed the Hellespont; and passed through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, to Apollonia in Illyricum, the ordinary place of embarkation for Italy. In penetrating through the defiles of Thrace, near the river Hebrus, part of the Syrian and Gallic spoils was surprised and seized by the Thracians. These robbers ventured even to combat with the legions; they were repelled with much bloodshed, though without losing their booty: a circumstance, of which the enemies of Manlius afterwards made use, and invidiously amplified in the vain hope of obstructing his triumph⁸⁷.

Transactions in Greece.—Amynder recovers Athamania.

The same summer that had proved disastrous to the Gauls, was marked by the complete humiliation of the Etolians; both nations zealous allies to Antiochus, and both highly obnoxious to Rome and to all well regulated governments. While the Scipios were employed in Asia, the Etolians had again extended their jurisdiction over Athamania and Dolopia, districts in their own neighbourhood, and forming the common frontier of Epirus and Thessaly. Athamania, as we have seen, had been wrested from its king Amynder, and, together with Dolopia, subjected to Macedonian garrisons with the consent of the Romans, who wished to soothe Philip upon commencing their war against Antiochus. Amidst the first transient successes of their Syrian ally, the Etolians flew to arms, surprised and expelled the Macedonian garrisons in their neighbourhood, and manfully defended their usurpations against king Philip and his son Perseus⁸⁸. To Amynder, who had cooperated with them in this enterprise, they restored Athamania, whose inhabitants, having smarted under

⁸⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39.

⁸⁷ Id. *ibid.* c. 46.

⁸⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 49.

the Macedonian yoke, longed for the dominion of their hereditary chieftain⁸⁹; and in return for this favour on the part of the Etolians, Amynder enabled them to become masters of Ambracia, a city of great strength and splendour, once the capital of Pyrrhus, but now in the fallen and divided state of the Epirots, forming a small independent republic. Amynder, after his expulsion from Athamania, had resided in Ambracia; he had strengthened his hereditary friendship with its citizens; his influence rather than the arms of the Etolians, had gained for them possession of the place. But the neighbouring cities of Epirus dreaded the rapacity of that people, and, in despair of any effectual aid from Macedon, trusted chiefly to the arms of Rome for defence. Meanwhile Antiochus lost the decisive battle of Magnesia. Alarmed by the news of this event, the Etolians and Amynder sent ambassadors to the senate, to justify, at least, extenuate their late proceedings. The Etolian embassy was headed by Alexander the Isian, with whose character my readers are acquainted. In their way to Rome, the ambassadors, four in number, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Epirots. Lest they should be reclaimed by the Romans, to whom they had been sent in a public and sacred character, the Epirots were eager to release them for a high ransom. They asked five talents for each: this price was reduced to three talents, which the colleagues of Alexander agreed respectively to pay, and, finding securities among their friends in Epirus, were accordingly set at liberty. But the Isian complained of three talents as an exorbitant demand. He was an old infirm man, possessed of more than two hundred talents; but such was the tyranny of his avarice, that it would not allow him to part with the smallest trifle for the freedom and safety of his person. He determined rather to die in a prison, than to become bound for the sum required of him; and as the Romans sent orders for his liberation, the miser exulted in the patient firmness by which he had saved his money⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 1.⁹⁰ Polybius, l. xvii. c. 9.

CHAP.
XX.Siege of
Ambracia.

When the Etolians learned the detention of their first embassy, they thought of despatching a second. But it was no longer time, for the consul Fulvius Nobilior had sailed with a great armament to Apollonia, and was on his march through Epirus, at the head of twelve thousand infantry and six hundred horse; one third of which consisted, according to custom, of Roman citizens, and two thirds of Italian allies. In concert with the Epirots, he determined to lay siege to Ambracia, while the less important acquisitions, recently made by the Etolians, should be invaded and wrested from them by the king of Macedon. Ambracia was situated three miles north of the gulph to which it gives name, defended on the east by a mountain, with a lofty citadel; on the west by the river Arachthus, and by walls three miles in circuit. With a view both to exclude succours, and to make a safe as well as efficacious attack, the Romans, accustomed to carry on war with the spade and pickax not less than with the sword, drew lines of circumvallation around the place, and then proceeded to batter the walls in five different points. The besieged defended themselves with equal skill and spirit. The shocks of the battering rams were diverted by iron grapples; huge cranes let fall enormous masses of lead to crush the Roman works, wherever the wall gave way, a new and stronger wall rose behind it; and the assaults of the besiegers were repelled and retaliated by bold sallies in the day, and more especially in the night. When the Romans had recourse to mining, the Etolians dexterously countermined them. They first cut a deep trench in the ground, and having discovered, by applying to its sides thin brazen plates, some of which resounded in unison with the clink of the Roman tools, the direction which their own workmen ought to pursue, they speedily came to the caverns made by the enemy. A battle ensued under ground, first with the mining instruments, and afterwards with swords and spears; but when this was rendered indecisive through want of room, neither party being able to penetrate beyond the shields of the other, the Etolians

bethought them of a new expedient for dislodging the assailants. They provided a huge vessel covered with iron, and bristling with iron spikes. They filled it with small feathers; its end towards the Roman mine projected an iron tube; a smith's bellows was applied to the other; and the feathers being set on fire, the Romans were thus annoyed by so offensive a smoke, that it was impossible for them to persevere in their subterranean labours⁹¹. During this state of the siege, the Macedonians invaded and recovered Dolopia: and the coast of Etolia was ravaged by the Roman fleet, assisted by the Achæans, and the Illyrian Pleuratus, a zealous ally of the Romans. Such a combination of enemies distracted the councils of the Etolians. They considered that the war had been undertaken through reliance on Antiochus; but now, that this prince had been defeated in a decisive battle, and banished to the extremities of the world beyond mount Taurus, all hope of resistance had vanished. Under this impression of despondency, they sent ambassadors to Fulvius, to implore his mercy on a people once in alliance with Rome: "that they had been sparingly rewarded as friends, and ought not therefore as enemies to be punished excessively." The consul ordered them to pay a thousand talents, to surrender their horses and arms, and to bind themselves, in war and peace, to yield implicit obedience to the senate. Before the negotiation was concluded, the Rhodians and Athenians interposed their friendly mediation. Amynander too, king of Athamania, requested a safe conduct to the Roman camp, and soothed the consul with promises of putting him, by peaceful means, in possession of Ambracia. This petty prince had performed essential service to the Romans in their Macedonian wars; by imprudently siding with Antiochus against them he had lost his kingdom: he had recently recovered it by his own activity and address: he feared, if a relentless war should be prosecuted against the Etolians, to be involved in their fate; he

CHAP.
XX.

Humilia-
tion of the
Etolians—
Surrender
of Ambra-
cia.
Olymp.
exlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁹¹ Ploybius, l. xxii. c. iv. 11, 12.

CHAP.
XX.

The Ro-
mans pos-
sess them-
selves of
Cephalle-
nia.
Olymp.
exlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

feared also for the safety of Ambracia, a city where he had long resided, and over which he had an extraordinary degree of influence. Through the interference of Amynander, Ambracia surrendered on condition that the Etolians in the place should be allowed to depart in safety. The consul respected the liberties of the Ambracians and their property, public as well as private: the pictures and statues only, with which the palace of Pyrrhus had been adorned, were sent on board the fleet, to be transported to Rome. Shortly afterwards Fulvius moved his camp to Amphilochian Argos, twenty-two miles distant from Ambracia, at the inmost extremity of the gulph; and prepared to march, if necessary, into the heart of Etolia. But a new embassy from that country, seconded by the Rhodians and Athenians, obtained conditions of peace more tolerable than those originally tendered; since the Etolians were allowed to retain their horses and arms; and instead of one thousand, required only to pay five hundred talents. They were compelled however to relinquish all their conquests, and to give hostages as a pledge of their entire submission in future to the power and majesty of Rome⁹². The consul then sailed to Cephallenia, long a dependence of Etolia, and, in a siege of four months, reduced the ill advised but obstinate resistance of Samè, a seaport in that island. The city was plundered, its inhabitants were sold for slaves; and Cephallenia, thus completely subdued, became a very valuable acquisition, since by its proximity to the coast of Greece, it served as a convenient place of arms and observation for watching and seasonably controlling the course of public transactions in that country⁹³.

⁹² Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8, et seq.

⁹³ Id. l. xxxviii. c. 28, 29.

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